

UNDERSTANDING CONFLICTING RATIONALITIES IN CITY PLANNING:

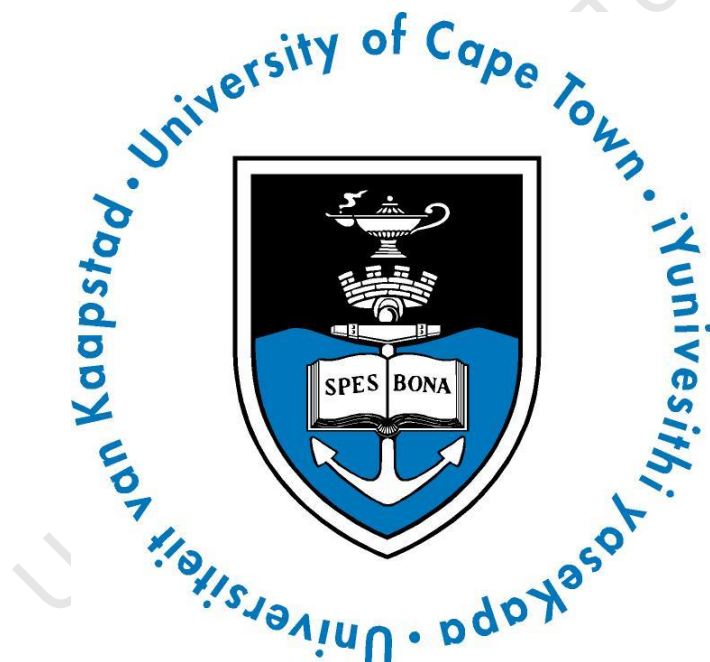
A case study of co-produced infrastructure in informal settlements in Kampala

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Abstract

Kampala is Uganda's capital city and is one of the fastest growing cities in the world. Over 60% of the city's urban population live and work informally. In 2002, the Ugandan Minister of Lands, Housing and Urban Development attended the World Urban Forum in Kenya, where he met with the international president of Slum/Shack Dwellers International (SDI), Jockin Arputham. The Minister requested the support of SDI to mobilise the residents of Kampala for settlement upgrading. Following this invitation, the SDI president, with Federation members from South Africa and India, visited Kampala. This visit resulted in the signing of an agreement to enable community residents and the state to jointly improve the living conditions of people in informal settlements in Kampala. This marked the beginning of a new form of state-society relations, called co-production. These relations have grown, evolved and progressively matured over the years. This evolutionary case study asks how co-production engagements in the City of Kampala provide empirical support for an enhanced theoretical framework in planning which contributes to ideas of state-society engagement in the cities of the global South. Drawing on poststructuralist theory and cases of co-production, a conceptual framework provides the theoretical basis to examine how service delivery and city planning under co-production are shaped by power and rationalities that occur at the interface between state and society.

This study draws on key proponents of the case study method. Primary data and information were collected, using semi-structured interviews. Document analysis and observations were used to supplement the interview processes and data. The findings were analysed and then used to engage with the theoretical materials in order to write back to theory and then generate theoretical prepositions on planning theory and co-production as an interventive planning framework. Key findings show that communities and civic groups used tools of enumerations, exchange visits and savings to assert their claims and demands, as well as to advance and secure their survival assets and systems. The study reveals complex multifaceted and dynamic power struggles and matrixes within and between structures of the state in the implementation of various co-production initiatives and relations. The state displays and relies on incoherent legal and policy positions, acts informally and operates between old and new ways of engaging with communities. The study further reveals tension points, reversals and the 'holding back' of state power during encounters of state, networked and multiple community power bases that have strong and influential claims to urban space, materialities such as land, trading spaces, informal livelihood systems, place and belonging. The narratives show that community is segmented

and conflicted, with individuals and civic groups straddling the divide between state and societal spaces. The combination of organised community resistance and collaboration led to 'quiet encroachment' to shift state positions on development regulations and to disrupt and refine states' schemes of community intervention to become open and more inclusive. The conflicting rationalities and deep differences between state agents and communities extend beyond the binary of state and 'community'. The narratives reveal the fragmented nature of the state - formal and informal - and the divisions within and between society and civic groups characterised by the politics of control of space and territoriality, differentiation and belonging.

The case study engages with theory to provide an important caution against the limitations of assuming that planning can adopt consensualist processes in the cities of the South. It suggests that co-production offers a more productive and realistic way of approaching state-society engagement in planning, but is also fraught with difficulties that are also present in the wider context within which engagement occurs. Therefore, this thesis also argues that planning in the South should be seen as both a collaborative and conflicted process. In addition, it postulates that there is nothing peaceful about urban life, and that power and conflict are ubiquitous elements that both produce and are a product of the interface between state and society.

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LIST OF ACRONYMS

ACHR.....	Asian Coalition for Housing Rights
APG.....	Architecture, Planning and Geomatics
CBO.....	Community-based Organisation
CODI.....	Community Organisation Development Institute
CDO.....	Community Development Office
COHRE.....	Centre on Housing Rights and Evictions
DGPM.....	Department of Gender, Production and Marketing
DoUD.....	Department of urban Development
KCCA.....	Kampala Capital City Authority
KCC.....	Kampala City Council
LC.....	Local Council
MDF.....	Municipal Development Forum
MLHUD.....	Ministry of Lands, Housing and Urban Development
MLH.....	Ministry of Lands and Housing
MoU.....	Memorandum of Understanding
NEC.....	National Executive Council
NGO.....	Non-Governmental Organisation
NRM.....	National Resistance Movement
NSDFU.....	National Slum Dwellers Federation of Uganda
NWG.....	National Working Group
OPP.....	Orangi Pilot Project
PforR.....	Programme for Results
SDI.....	Slum/Shack Dwellers International
SPARC.....	Society for the Promotion of Area Resource Centres
TSUPU.....	Transforming Settlements of the Urban Poor in Uganda
UCT.....	University of Cape Town
UN-Habitat.....	United Nations Human Settlements Programme
USMID.....	Uganda Support to Municipal Infrastructure Development
WUF.....	World Urban Forum

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.0 Introduction

This chapter provides the general background to the study. It is divided into four main sections. Section one presents the background to the research issue. In section two, I introduce the research problem. I use section three to briefly highlight key aspects of the research methodology, while section four provides the structure of the thesis. I conclude in section five by introducing chapter two.

1.1 Motivation for the study

There is growing interest in the need to understand planning decision-making processes using a lens which is more directly informed by the very different contexts across the globe within which planning takes place. This suggests the need for an exploration of new ideas on planning processes beyond those currently dominant in planning theory (Stiftel & Mukhopadhyay, 2007; Yiftachel, 2006), which have largely been informed by contexts in the global North. An important argument underlying this research is that planning as a field is socially constructed and applied and theories, inevitably shaped by the contexts from which they emerge, cannot be applied universally across the globe (Jacobs & Fincher, 1998; Watson, 2006).

Dominant ideas in planning theory decision-making for the last few decades have been shaped by a pragmatist philosophy in the United States, giving rise to the concept of ‘communicative planning’ (Forester, 1989) and in the UK and Europe to the idea of ‘collaborative planning’ (Healey, 1992). Both shifted attention away from finding ‘objective laws’ to govern social behaviour towards the socially-constructed ways in which social norms and practices are produced, legitimated, become hegemonic and are transformed. However, both communicative and collaborative planning theories were inspired by Habermasian communicative theory. Both sets of ideas were also shaped by planning at the time (1980s) in advanced capitalist economies where the nature of cities and regions, their institutional capacities and management, and the functioning of civil society were (and still are) very different to those found in many other parts of the world.

In recent years there has been a shift across a wide range of disciplines, especially urban studies and planning (from authors such as Ananya Roy, Miraftab, AbdouMaliq Simone, Libby Porter, Oren Yiftachel, and Vanessa Watson), to a critique of these ideas which argues that cities and

towns in the global South¹ (Dados & Connell, 2012) are very different to those in the North, socially, economically, culturally and institutionally. These authors argue that ideas are shaped by context (Flyvbjerg, 2004) and planning theory needs to expand the ‘pot’ from which it draws ideas and formulates proposals to include the global South.

Cities and towns in those regions of the world historically shaped by imperialism and colonialism tend to have characteristics which are important informants for planning. This is not to suggest that some of these characteristics are only present in the global South, and also does not suggest that they take on the same form across the entire global South: these parts of the world are also highly diverse. In Sub-Saharan Africa, the wider region within which the case-study of Kampala is located, urbanisation continues to be rapid. Africa is urbanising rapidly, with its city-based population expanding by 3.5% per year. Some cities are growing considerably faster (Abuja at 9% and Luanda at 6% a year)². The World Bank³ estimates that the number of Africans living in urban areas is projected to grow from 36 percent in 2010 to 50 percent by 2030. The Economist⁴ reports that the populations of some cities in Sub-Saharan Africa, such as Lagos and Kinshasa, are set to swell by up to 85% in the next 15 to 20 years. At the same time, economic growth and industrialisation have been slow, with the unusual decoupling of urbanisation and industrialisation. “The rate of urbanisation is most rapid in countries with the lowest levels of economic development. These countries can least afford to invest in the infrastructure required to facilitate orderly urban development and to avoid the bottlenecks and resource constraints that may obstruct economic growth” (Turok, 2014:124). The result has been that most cities and towns in this region experience high levels of informality, unemployment and poverty (UN-Habitat, 2010b). Again, this is highly uneven across Sub-Saharan Africa. Where unemployment and poverty, as well as urban growth are high, the inevitable outcome is that the majority of the populations live and work in conditions of informality, (see illustrations in figures 1 and 2).

¹ In this dissertation the Global South means far more than a geographical South: “It references an entire history of colonialism, neo-imperialism, and differential economic and social change through which large inequalities in living standards, life expectancy and access to resources are maintained; and opens new possibilities in politics and social science” (Dados and Connell, 2012:13).

² www.weforum.org/agenda/2014/05/top-10-cities-forum-africa-2014,12/12/16

³ <http://www.worldbank.org/en/events/2015/06/01/urbanisation-in-africa-trends-promises-and-challenges,12/12/16>

⁴ http://www.economist.com/blogs/dailychart/2010/12/urbanisation_africa,12/12/16



Figure 1: Illustration of informal housing in Kampala⁵



Figure 2: Illustration of informal economic activities in Kampala⁶

⁵ <http://www.urbanafrika.net/news/plastic-bottles-bring-light-kampalas-informal-settlements,12/12/16>

⁶ , <https://migrationology.com/jua-kali-kenyan-informal-labor-sector,12/12/16>

These urban conditions and development players, in turn, have implications for the nature and form of civil society in many of these contexts: organisations tend to be weak and fragmented and civil society itself is fractured by historical cultural divides and patriarchy (Robins, 2008). Civil society organisations do not automatically possess the democratising properties associated with the public sphere under liberal democracies. On the other hand, governments tend to be highly centralised and administration is often weak and corrupt and closely linked to political patronage (Lindell, 2008). Robins et al (2008:1071) argue that the “nature of relations between people and government in these political and historical contexts” is punctuated by histories of disenfranchisement, authoritarianism and clientelism and do not align with normative versions of citizenships. In many African cities, as is the case elsewhere in the global South, urban governance “encompasses multiple sites where practices of governance are exercised and contested, (and) a variety of players, various layers of relations and a broad range of practices of governance that may involve various modes of power, as well as different scale” are found (Lindell, 2008:1880). There are diverse networks of power and governance in these cities. In many cases, the state does not necessarily hold a sovereign position in these networks but can steer them (Rhodes, 1997). In these administrations, planning has been largely inherited from previous colonizing powers and planning legislation and the form of planning (usually top-down master-planning) often remains relatively unchanged (Berrisford, 2011). Under such circumstances, it is inevitable that poor households ‘step outside of the law’ in order to survive with the result that extensive informal settlements remain largely ignored by governments in terms of service provision and creation of opportunities for human development. In terms of inherited colonial planning legislation, the concept of public participation is either minimal or entirely absent and there are few formal channels which poor communities can use to communicate their needs. Instead, less formal channels of protest, or even corruption, have proved most effective.

Given these conditions, current dominant planning ideas of collaborative planning, in which the state and civil society engage in debate on appropriate forms of planning and desired futures, have little possibility of success. Other forms of state-society engagement therefore need to be explored, particularly forms which start from the assumption that poor communities will have to make major efforts, under highly constrained circumstances, to shape the outcomes of planning processes. Currently little attention has been given to this important question, hence the focus of this dissertation is on precisely this problem.

For the past decade or so various international NGOs working with poor communities in global South cities have been developing ways of engaging with governments to improve the conditions of people living and working in informal conditions. One of these NGOs, Slum Dwellers International (SDI)⁷, has developed a particular approach to this issue which they have come to call “co-production”. This approach has been developed through the testing out of various strategies, initially in the context of India, and is now applied across their affiliates in the East, in Africa and in some parts of Latin America. Significant success has been claimed for this approach and case studies have been written up and published in a range of development and planning journals. It is important to distinguish the term co-production as used by organisations such as SDI from the way the term has been used by Elinor Ostrom (1996) in the field of public administration. Her approach can be seen as involving state-initiated practices of co-production, given the role of the state which underpins most of these writings and practices, and can be distinguished from social movement initiated co-production, which is the approach followed by SDI.

As a lecturer in this planning field in Zambia, my long-term interest is in the development of new planning ideas appropriate to the context of this continent. My interest in co-production first developed in my Masters dissertation, which focussed on a case of co-production in Langrug, an informal settlement near Cape Town. In this case, which was largely regarded as successful in its early phases, the complexity of the co-production process became clear. Therefore, for my PhD research I wanted to analyse a case study of co-production which was regarded as successful and had progressed from the stage of discussion to the stage of implementation. Kampala in Uganda proved to be such a case.

The purpose of this PhD research has been to undertake analysis on this case at a level of depth which has not occurred to date in the available published works on co-production. I have tracked the history of the process in Kampala and carried out numerous interviews with all groups of participants to understand how the process has unfolded. My overall conclusion is that this case has indeed been a success in many respects but that there have also been many set-backs and conflicts. The characteristics of the state and society as a whole in Uganda have, inevitably, permeated the co-production process, and it is clear that this approach needs to be considered with caution and on the basis of lessons learnt in a range of case studies.

⁷ <http://old.sdinet.org/method-slum-upgrading/,12/12/16>

My overall contribution to knowledge emerging from this case is both empirical and theoretical. Empirically, I have carried out in-depth analysis of a case of co-production in the African continent and exposed how both conflict and collaboration play out within communities, within the state, and in engagements between state and these communities, influenced to a large degree by the presence of the SDI-affiliated NGO called ACTogether. Theoretically, I have taken a poststructuralist philosophical position, making use of Foucauldian concepts of power. In the field of planning theory, I have drawn on collaborative planning ideas as a point of departure and have used the work of southern planning and urban theorists to shape my understanding of planning in global south and postcolonial contexts. There is still a small amount of literature on co-production in planning (Albrechts, 2012; Watson, 2012; 2014), and numerous case studies, and, where possible, I have drawn on these as well.

1.2 The research issue

The reality of fundamentally different worldviews and different value systems is still often treated as superficial in planning theory, and the issue of how planners situate themselves ethically in different situations has not been given sufficient attention. Watson (2003) argues that “there is an urgent need for planning theorists to think further on the issue of planning in a context of conflicting rationalities, recognising the operation of power as it both shapes and maintains them.” Albrechts (2012:9) and Watson (2014) indicate that “planning should still be ‘public sector-led’ but through a co-productive process, which could be initiated by non-state players, and would require a fundamental shift in the balance of power.” The introduction of the concept of co-production in planning offers a scholarly field in planning thought which would, while recognising the role of context, build on early debates on ‘collaborative’ and ‘communicative’ planning theories by critically examining both decision-making processes on the one hand, and spatial processes and planning outcomes on the other (Watson, 2014; Huxley, 2000). Co-production is a new and complex concept in planning and has considerable potential for intervention theory and practice. However, besides case studies documenting co-production engagements and outcomes, no study has been done to build a rigorous theoretical framework for co-production in planning. This study responds to this knowledge gap in order to establish concepts, theory and practice ideas around co-production as an emerging frame of practicing city planning.

The objectives of the research are:

- i. To analyse co-production engagements and activities in Kampala.

- ii. To examine state responses to community-led upgrade initiatives.
- iii. To examine community and NGO engagements with government to achieve informal upgrade initiatives using the co-production approach.
- iv. To understand how the exercise of power by state, community and the NGO shaped the outcome of co-production engagements in Kampala.

The overall research question is:

How do co-production engagements in the City of Kampala provide empirical support for an enhanced theoretical framework in planning which contributes to ideas of state-society engagement in the cities of the global South?

The overall research question generates the following research sub-questions:

- i. How have communities and the NGO called ACTogether engaged the state in Kampala on the issue of informal settlement recognition and service provision?
- ii. Have elements or groupings of communities engaged the state in different ways?
- iii. How has the state in Kampala (national and local) responded to initiatives from communities and ACTogether to engage in service provision?
- iv. Have different elements or departments in the state responded in different ways?
- v. How have power relations structured the relationships between communities, NGOs and the state in the process of engagement?

1.3 Research methodology

This research has sought to study the ‘everyday’ practices in planning in Kampala. The study of co-production engagements and relations in city planning was integrated with a wider set of socio-political and infrastructural technologies in the City. Accordingly, this study used the case study approach, as recommended by Yiftachel & Huxley (2000:911) who call upon planning theoreticians and practitioners to critically examine planning practices -using cases- rather than to search for abstract planning theory (Flyvbjerg, 2004). Flyvbjerg (2004: 283) calls for planning theorists to turn to “phronetic planning research” which sets out to answer questions of power and values for specific instances of planning practices. Watson (2003) recommends that planning research needs to return to the concrete, to the empirical and to case research. The study used the City of Kampala as a case and then chose three sub-cases as units of analysis. Sub-case 1 one is Nakawa division, sub-case 2 is Kampala Central division and sub-case 3 is Kawempe division. Unit of analysis 1 is Kinawataka and Mbuya areas (Nakawa

division), unit of analysis 2 is Kisenyi area (Kampala Central) and Bwaise area (Kawempe division) is unit of analysis 3. The study used semi-structured interviews as the main research technique. A total of one hundred and eleven research participants were selected from community groups, the National Slum Dwellers Federation of Uganda (NSDFU), ACTogether and various government agencies on the basis that they had relevant information about co-production engagements and relations in Kampala. Document analysis and observations facilitated an informative interview process and aided nuanced analysis and interpretation of the primary materials. The conceptual framework provided ‘theoretical lenses’ with which to engage the empirical data to address the research questions. A combination of these methods and processes, with a wide range of research participants, allowed for triangulation, to ensure both internal and external validity of the research.

1.4 Structure of the thesis

The thesis is divided into 8 interlinked chapters. Chapter one provides the background to the entire study. In the second chapter, I review literature and theory on post-structuralism, mainstream planning theory, and cases of co-production to identify the knowledge gap and to develop the theoretical framework. I also draw on literature which explores how and why both the state and society in global South contexts, and Africa in particular, are different from the characteristics of state and society that inform much of mainstream planning theory. The third chapter presents the research methodology. In this chapter, I explain and justify the use of the case study method, its limitations and strengths, and why it is most appropriate to answer my research questions. I formulate the research problem, and discuss data collection methods that include document analysis and observations. I further explain semi-structured interviews as the main research technique used for primary data collection. I also present measures that I implemented during the research process to ensure internal and external validity of research outcomes. In chapter four, I review literature to analyse the planning history, institutional, political, and economic contexts that shape and influence state-society relations, planning, and service delivery in Kampala. This chapter is later used to guide the analysis and interpretation of the findings. In chapter five, I present the findings of my research in the form of the narratives. In this chapter, I address the ‘*what*’ question of the research by presenting the narratives according to the three sub-cases and the co-production periods as documented in figure 5.1. In this chapter I outline the timeframe of the events in Kampala from the time when co-production was initiated in 2002 up to the present and explain how the co-production process unfolded during each period. While drawing on all the previous chapters, I use chapter

six for interpretation of the findings in order to explain the underlying players that determined the research findings. Thus, I address the inherent '*how*' and '*why*' research questions of the study. The analysis materials are presented according to the sub-research questions, considering, firstly, how state-society engagement was characterised by both conflicts and alignments; secondly how civil society involving communities and the NGO worked together or in opposition; and thirdly how the various elements of the state were aligned or conflicted during the co-production process. I attempted to track the exercise of power in all these negotiations and conflicts. In chapter seven, I follow the principles of case study research method to 'mirror' the research findings against all the previous chapters. Critically, I use the empirical materials to write back to theory in order to address both the sub-research questions and the main research question. A series of theoretical propositions relating to planning theory and co-production are presented. Finally, chapter eight provides overall reflections on the theoretical significance of the Kampala case in planning. I conclude chapter eight by proposing directions for future research.

1.5 Conclusion

This chapter has provided the context of the study. I have detailed the motivations for research focus and questions. Equally, I have introduced the methodological approaches that have been used during data collection and analysis. Importantly, the chapter provides the structure of the thesis. In the following chapter, I will review literature to develop the theoretical framework that will be used for data analysis and interpretation.

CHAPTER 2

THE THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

2.0 Introduction

How state and society engage on issues related to urban planning has been a prominent theme in planning theory for at least the last two decades (Hillier & Healey, 2008; Albrechts, 2012). Differing ideas and positions, mostly informed by global North urban contexts and intellectual traditions, have been proposed. Watson (2014) proposes that recent approaches and cases of planning taking place in global South contexts offer the possibility of adding to planning debates by expanding the context which shapes planning ideas beyond the global North, and perhaps shifting planning theory in the direction of becoming truly international. The focus of this chapter is on the literature which considers new ways of understanding state-society relations in the context of urban development in the global South. This chapter will first indicate that much of what may be called mainstream planning theory has been informed by planning theorists drawing on Habermasian concepts of state-society relations which are not always appropriate in the context of global South cities, where both state and civil society can function and interact in rather different ways. As an alternative, the chapter suggests researchers draw on ideas about state-society engagement informed by political philosophers in regions outside of the global North and within a postcolonial framework. For example, Partha Chatterjee, writing on India, and Walter Mignolo writing on South America, are important informants of postcolonial thinking in the area of contemporary state-society relations in the South. Using the Foucauldian theorisation of power, the chapter will then draw on the related area of postcolonial theory to consider how state-society engagement challenges key assumptions underlying collaborative and communicative planning theory. It will then consider the conceptual ideas posed by an emerging approach termed co-production. The following section discusses modernist and postmodernist planning in relation to knowledge in planning theory and practice.

2.1. Modernist and postmodernist debates in planning

“The project of modernity,” as Jurgen Habermas calls it, stems largely from the vision of eighteenth-century Enlightenment philosophers of objective science, universal morality and law (Irving, 1993:475). Alcoff (2007: 83) cites Walter Mignolo (Domingues, 2009) to argue that “modernity was imagined as the house of epistemology” (Mignolo & Tlostanova, 2006). To address the problems resulting from massive industrial expansion, planning had to embrace the modernist project, which entailed the establishment of a tradition of 'subject-centred'

reason, a thrust to establish something stable, structured, and rationalized. The approach to planning entailed standardised conditions of knowledge and production of space through the rational ordering of urban space as one of the prerequisites for enhancing individual liberty and human welfare (Holston, 1998). Planning was rooted within the “belief of linear progress, positivist, technocratic, rational planning of social and geographic space, specialised knowledge and production with the emphasis on the rational ordering of urban space’ to achieve liberty and human welfare” (Irving, 1993:476). Thus, planning as a modernist project was based on the epistemological premise, resting on an objectively existent and knowable reality, whose laws could arguably be uncovered through human reason. This epistemology leads to assertions on the production of “objectively” or scientifically obtained postulates with claims to universal truth or meta-narratives (Lyotard, 1979). Planners in this model viewed themselves as value-free technocrats, able to stand back and away from competing interests and offering a comprehensive prescription of how to pursue a common public good. As such, planners became “priests of rationality” (Boyer, 1983: 285, Hirt , 2005), able to envisage a supposedly objective and singularly defined monolithic public good. This modernist methodology, rooted in positivism, has been assumed over time to be globally applicable. There was a belief that the “concepts, methods and techniques that had been developed in the West were the social equivalents of natural laws and, as such, universally applicable” (Koenigsberger, 1980:13).

Similarly, in the global South, there has been widespread application of modernist approaches to planning. The model was justified as bringing a benevolent and progressive modernisation process to the global South (Harvey, 1989; Hettne, 1995). The result has been disastrous and a complete failure of the approach to dealing with the problems of global South cities and the urbanisation processes. The modernist planning project has been seriously challenged, firstly by urban realities which indicated it has failed in its own endeavour and, secondly, by Dear (1986) who indicates that the approach has been challenged by post-structuralist questioning of the controllers and underlying assumptions of planning. Finally, it has also come under pressure by the rise of neo-liberalism, which has reduced the state's role in planning (Sandercock, 1998). The widespread failure of the modernist project led to the emergence of postmodernist planning ideals, although modernist planning practices continued in many global South regions.

Postmodernism is a rejection of metanarratives (Harvey, 1989). It is a response to failures in large scale solutions favoured by comprehensive planning and the universalisation of a

planning approach favoured by linear thought patterns and science. Irving (1993) argues that postmodernism has a pessimistic aspect to it, in that it demonstrates the possibility of a world characterised by extreme fragmentation to the point that collective action is rendered impossible. Goodchild (1990:119) maintains that “postmodernism emphasises the benefits of diversity, and welcomes the growth of localised protest” (conflicts) as a means of promoting democracy, and this opens up the planning process in ways denied by a planning approach that favours technical rationality.

Postmodern’s principal target has been the rationality of the modern movement, especially its foundational character, its search for universal truth. ...the postmodern position is that all meta-narratives are suspect; that the authority claimed by any single explanation is ill-founded, and by extension, that any such attempts to forge intellectual consensus should be resisted (Dear, 1995:28).

Accordingly, postmodernism marks an era of scepticism toward grand narratives, ideologies, and various tenets of Enlightenment rationality, including the existence of objective reality and claims for existence of universal absolute truths. Postmodernism asserts that knowledge and truth are the product of unique systems of social, historical, and “political discourses and interpretation”, and are therefore contextual and constructed (Dear, 1986:384). Jameson (1985:112) regards a “plurality of discourse as characteristic of postmodernism”. Thus, postmodern planning thought is characterised by tendencies to epistemological and moral relativism, pluralism, self-preferentiality, and localised development action. In this regard, postmodernist planning is grounded within the framework of pragmatism, power and social networking.

This thesis is theoretically and epistemologically grounded in postmodernist ideas of planning which postulate that truth lies in specificities and contextualized locales and that metanarratives cannot legitimate the illusion of a universal human history. The chapter contends that the epistemology of postmodernist planning thought favours ('privileges') heterogeneity and difference, fragmentation and indeterminacy, and holds all 'totalizing' discourses in contempt. Working within the possibilities and limitations of postmodernism, urban planners need to advance a humane and creative vision of a reconstructed urban society. Postmodernism, with its rejection of the metanarratives may clear the way and open up urban planning to all the possibilities inherent in the various humanities and geographies. While many planning theorists, and philosophers such as Habermas, have drawn on modernist ideas, the postmodern epistemologies of planning resonate with Chatterjee (2004: 4) postulation of a “heterogeneous

time of modernity.” The following section discusses Habermasian ideas for state-society engagements.

2.2 A brief critique of Habermasian ideas of ideal communication

In line with Watson (2016:32), this thesis recognises that “planning theory has shifted over time in response to changes in broader social and philosophical theory as well as changes in the material world”. In the West, Postmodernism and poststructuralism dislodged modernist, rational and technical approaches to planning. Consensualist decision-making theories of the 1980s took forms of communicative and collaborative planning, drawing on Habermasian concepts and ideas. Thus, the thesis notes the availability of many debates on the shifts in planning theory. These positions, along with refinements and critiques within the field, have been hegemonic in planning theory ever since the 1980s. However, the principal theoretical resource used in developing communicative planning theory is the theory of communicative action, the thesis presented by the sociologist–philosopher Jürgen Habermas (1984a). Habermas’ work on the theory of communicative action and discourse ethics is located in the inter-subjective approach to the notion of modernity. The goal of Habermas’ theory of communicative action is that of clarifying the presuppositions of the rationality of processes of reaching shared understanding (Habermas, 1990a). In his philosophical discourse of modernity, Habermas develops his ideal-based inter-subjective approach using the concept of communicative rationality (Habermas, 1990b). The concept of communicative rationality brings with it the connotations of non-coercive consensus-building and that participants are assumed to be rationally motivated to engage with the state to reach an agreement on societal matters (Flyvbjerg, 2000; 2002).

The major problem, however, is that Habermas’ theory is idealistic and even utopian: he assumes the existence of a civil society which is ordered and rule-abiding, and would respect the rules of meeting procedure and dialogue. He further assumes the existence of a state (officials and politicians) which follows the rule of law and has the broader public good as a central concern. Flyvbjerg (2000) argues that his work contains little understanding of the role of history and how power functions in actual politics and administration or of those strategies and tactics which are adopted in practice to promote the interests of various parties. Thus, it remains a concern that much of the body of work known as ‘planning theory’ has developed almost entirely within the Habermasian framework informed by assumptions of lived experiences and intellectual traditions in the global North. This is against the background where two-thirds of the world’s population, and the overwhelming volume of urban growth, are

located in the global South, and where the functioning of both civil society and state can be very different.

Flyvbjerg (2000) insists that the basic weakness of Habermas' project is its lack of agreement between ideal theory and real rationality. In many countries of the global South, the fundamental dilemma in actualising Habermas' thinking regarding rationality in planning involves the lack of key institutions, high levels of poverty, abuse, and degradation as barriers to discursive decision-making processes (Robins et al, 2008). As such, having been heavily influenced by Habermas' ideals of communicative rationality, the relevance of mainstream planning theory is limited by its origins within the intellectual traditions and experiences of the West (Harrison, 2006). If we are to engage effectively with the multiple rationalities that are shaping the cities of the world today - cities that are increasingly centred in the global South - then we must bring "...Western intellectual tradition into critical questioning regarding the epistemologies, rationalities and value-based traditions" (Harrison, 2006: 319).

Habermas explains that validity is defined as consensus without force, where all affected entities can freely accept the consequences and side effects of given actions or decisions of the state (Flyvbjerg, 2000). He believes argumentation ensures that all concerned in principle take part, freely and equally, in a cooperative search for truth and validity, where nothing coerces anyone except the force of 'the better argument'. According to Habermas, "the only form of power which is active in the ideal speech situation and in communicative rationality is thus the force of the better argument", which consequently obtains a critical place in Habermas' work and the subsequent influence on state-society relations (Flyvbjerg, 2000:3). It is these ideas that have directly informed communicative planning theory.

Furthermore, a near consensus among planning theorists had developed around those approaches to planning theory based on Habermas's Theory of Communicative Action (1984a) to the extent that (Innes, 1995) declared it the emergence of planning theory's 'new paradigm' (Healey, 2003). Developing the collaborative planning model, (Healey, 1997a) notes that it is a product of the communicative approach to planning theory and institutionalist sociology. The foundations in communicative planning theory provide the essential fundamentals and underlying principles to collaborative planning in the sense of devising preferred styles and approaches to planning (Allmendinger & Tewdwr-Jones, 2002).

.....the two separate bodies of theory are related in a normative/analytic dimension, in which one serves to provide an understanding of the systems and mechanisms of urban and regional

planning upon which a normative agenda of democratic and inclusive management may be pursued (Allmendinger & Tewdwr-Jones, 2002:35).

Collaborative planning lays the emphasis on consensus-building, mediated negotiations, constructing shared discourse, and strengthening institutional capacity (Harrison, 2006; Healey, 1997a; 2003; Innes, 1995). According to Watson (2002:31), key elements of this approach are the faith it has in "...civil society as a source of democracy and as a vehicle for placing more pressure on the state to act more responsively."

A further source of critique of Habermas' communicative rationality lies in the disconnect between his liberal conception of society and the subsequent rise of post-modern thinking which emphasises recognition of social diversity and difference. Planning theories influenced by the 'cultural turn' in social philosophy departed from Habermasian inspired ideas by emphasising instead the concept of identity and social divides and conflicts. Leonie Sandercock's 'multi-cultural' planning theory, Suzanne Speak's work on gender and planning and Oren Yiftachel's work on ethnicity and planning are good examples. Furthermore, other critical voices on Habermas' communicative rationality involve consideration of the role of gender in reconstructing the nature of planning discipline (Speak and Kumar, Forthcoming; Sandercock and Forsyth 1992). Hooper, (1992:49) argued that feminist contributions could have a '...revitalizing, transformative effect on planning theory and practice...'. Understanding the nature and role of planning in the South using the gender lens is important in that women in these contexts generally have triple roles, performing domestic- reproductive, productive and community management roles (Moser, 1993). Rakodi (1991) made suggestions for more gender sensitive approaches to the planning of transport, land, shelter and infrastructure in the Global South (Speak and Kumar, Forthcoming). It should be noted that for the urban poor, work is not only a male domain and women's work is critically important for household livelihoods (Speak 2011). Rooted in Habermas' communicative rationality, planning in many post-colonial cities continues to fail to address the disempowering, even threatening, nature of the urban realm for women in many contexts of the South. Speak (2005) suggests that many countries of the South have failed to undertake action to ensure women's and girls' rights to land and property, the fundamental tools of planning. Where women's land rights are enshrined in law, the complexity of customary, religious and constitutional laws often prevent women from owning land. Indeed, one might argue that planning has not given women improved access to what remains a socio-spatial world founded on masculine norms, let alone challenged those norms or offered alternatives (Speak and Kumar, Forthcoming). Thus,

planning theorists continue to call for planning become more engaging with diversity and difference by understating how identify, social difference and gender shape the real rationality of planning in contexts of the urban South.

Consensus-seeking planning theories such as communicative and collaborative planning (Healey, 1997a; 2003; Innes, 1995, and Forester, 1992) remain largely impractical in many countries, especially in the global South, because the functioning of the state and the role of civil society in contemporary urban society are fundamentally different. Thus, rather than requiring the reaching of consensus to validate the rationality of actions, planning needs to direct attention to the conflictual nature of policy-making and planning, and emphasise the political judgement, moral vision and emotional sensitivities that planners require within the context of social diversity (Watson, 2006). Foucault's concept of real-life rationality shows how choices are actually constructed and defended within particular constructs of power. Nancy Fraser (1981:276) maintains "...Foucault's argument which demonstrates that modern power is 'capillary' in that it operates at the lowest extremities of the social body in everyday social practices". Based on what Foucault terms "micro-tactics and practices" (Fraser, 1981:277), which comprise everyday life in modern society, Foucault analyses "power as 'flowing' at every level of society." Therefore, planning theorists need to focus their attention on more micro-political planning practices and localised conflicts, rather than context-less metanarratives (Flyvbjerg & Richardson, 2002:10).

As Myers (2011) suggests, African cities have long had dense social networks and informal institutions - essential for strategies of survival and expanding livelihood options. But these still stand apart from formal political and administrative institutions or are drawn into engagement with formal processes for purposes of patronage and clientelism. Robins et al (2008) point out that civil society organizations do not automatically show characteristics of democratization which liberal democracy assumes to be the case in Habermas' 'public sphere'. Although as Robins et al (2008: 1079) suggest, "...poor people tend to adopt plural strategies; they occupy multiple spaces and draw on multiple political identities, discourses and social relationships, often simultaneously". Thus, a citizen can assume various roles in the process of planning and the state can as well assume multiple roles. Clientelism is often a common feature in the state-society relations in many cities of the South, and Africa in particular (Robins et al, 2008). In the next section, I review literature on conceptualisations of state and society in the global South.

2.3 Theorising state and society in the global South: Seeing through post-colonialism

This thesis agrees with literature which argues that the state in many parts of the world deviates considerably from the ideal of Western liberal democracy, which has informed much of current planning thought (Watson, 2009; Harrison, 2006). While there are various approaches to understanding the nature of government outside of the West, this thesis draws on post-colonial theory, in part due to the continent's – and particularly Uganda's - strong colonial history (see chapter 4). The use of post-colonial theory in this thesis is not intended to recover some hidden essentialism but, rather, to bring to the surface rationalities and practices that have emerged and found ways to shape planning in circumstances of marginality and many limitations experienced by both citizens and state (Chatterjee, 2004; 2011; Harrison, 2006).

A more recent 'southern turn' across a range of social science disciplines, and in planning theory, suggests the possibility of a foundational shift toward theories which acknowledge their situatedness in time and place, and which recognise that extensive global difference in cities and regions renders universalized theorising and narrow conceptual models (especially in planning theory, given its relevance for practice) as invalid (Watson, 2016). New southern theorising in planning is drawing on a range of ideas on societal conflict, informality, identity and ethnicity. Postcolonialism and coloniality have provided a useful frame for situating places historically and geographically in relation to the rest of the world. Mignolo (2007: 454) calls for 'liberation', meaning a process of de-colonization 'of knowledge and being', a step beyond emancipation. Liberation is necessary, he argues, because the concept of emancipation does not question the logic of coloniality. De-colonization requires de-linking from the global reach of European modernity in the form of what he calls 'border thinking' which recognizes that the Western foundation of modernity and knowledge is both unavoidable and also highly limited. Border thinking requires a challenge to dominant knowledge-paradigms from critical perspectives informed by contexts outside of, and different to, those contexts which gave rise to currently hegemonic Western thought. Mignolo's (2007) position implies that planning practices supporting emancipation are not enough to achieve entrenched equitable planning and urban socio-spatial justice in regions experiencing coloniality. An intellectual de-linking from dominant paradigms of urban development and planning, both still strongly shaped by modernity, is an essential pre-condition for more liberatory planning practices. While local initiatives such as co-production are important, also essential for deep and entrenched urban change are liberatory shifts in the 'political bargaining environment', including corruption and patronage, at national level and beyond.

This thesis takes the position that planning in Africa and Uganda is an inherited profession handed down by the continent's colonisers. Thus, the influence of the West has continued to be 'overarching in terms of knowledge, practice' and systems (Mignolo, 2000; 2002). Secondly, this thesis uses post-colonial theory to enable a nuanced micro-analysis of Foucault's ideas of power in the context of urban Africa (Fraser, 1981). One of the main problems found in Foucault's work was his own colonial unconsciousness. Foucault "presented the development of the modern episteme (science) in such a way that divorced it from colonial contexts" (Alcoff, 2007:80). This thesis adopts Mignolo's concept – *coloniality* – to denote a continuation of colonial influence on planning in Uganda. However, the researcher is aware of "different understandings of (post)-coloniality" in South Asia, Latin America, Africa and settler colonies such as Australia and Canada (Epple, Kaltmeier, & Lindner, 2011, 2011:8). Most importantly, coloniality does not necessarily refer to a bounded time period. The researcher argues that decolonisation movements and political independence for most parts of the global South still left societies heavily imprinted by structures and cultures of coloniality, a trend that has continued to this day (Mignolo, 1995; 2000). Mignolo's main argument throughout his corpus has been that modernity in much of the South emerged from colonialism, rather than after it or simply alongside it. "Colonialism is constitutive of both the base and the superstructure of modernity" (Alcoff, 2007:83). Thus, the systems and instruments (knowledge, legal and technology) shaping planning in the global South continue to be rooted in the encounter between the colonies and colonisers.

Noxolo (2016) argues that post-colonial theory is an interdisciplinary set of critiques of inequality in the global system. It insists on recognising and appreciating the voices from the marginalised located outside the West. Post-colonialism pays particular attention to voices, epistemologies and theories 'from below' that challenge and unsettle the dominance of Western modes of knowledge production. Postcolonial theory has been concerned with how the subaltern can be heard, let alone heeded (Spivak, 1988). Postcolonial approaches are committed to acknowledging the presence of subalternity in development (Raghuram, Noxolo, & Madge, 2014). Postcolonial theorists have, in addition, pushed for recognition that the global is enormously diverse, and that there is a wide range of different modernities that coexist under globalisation (Bhabha, 1994). In fact, it is "the unequal relationships between these different modernities that characterise the global, and that can be understood as shaping some of the development issues" faced by people in cities of the global South (Noxolo, 2016: 46; Mbembe,

2001). Postcolonial approaches pay attention to the “*minutiae of relationship*” - to the particular located understandings of the values and meanings of everyday activities and interactions (Noxolo, 2016:47). Planners need an ethics of accountability that recognises the conditions of coloniality, and which involves appreciation of the “materialist and discursive processes constituting the Occident in relation to the Orient with an eye to broaching the normative terrain of what is to be done” to improve the lives of urban residents (Rankin, 2010:183). In the following paragraphs, I analyse state-society relations in the condition of coloniality.

Corbridge et al (2005) call for an understanding of the ways people inhabit and encounter the state as ‘a citizen, client and/or subject’. The postcolonial state is weak and lacks capability to formulate coherent policy to guide urban development. The condition of civil society in the postcolonial urban context is devoid of democratic practices, and citizens do not always wish to participate in urban development discourses for the sake of ‘public good’ (Lindell, 2008). Thus, theorising the entangled geographies of state and society in postcolonial society opens up analysis to narratives and spaces for manoeuvre, agency and negotiation (Das & Poole, 2004). In postcolonial contexts, ‘urban governance’ should be understood as encompassing the multiple sites where practices of governance are exercised and contested, a variety of players, various layers of relations and a broad range of practices of governance that may involve various modes of power at different scales. In these conditions, the state and civil society are complex and intertwined. Clientelism and patronage are very much part of political cultures as citizens straddle ‘civil society’ and ‘state’ spaces. In the South, strategies of survival and well-being depend on the ability to establish multiple strategic relationships and become legible to a number of powerful players. This in turn gives planners an environment where the relationship between ‘the citizen’ and ‘the state’ in many global South settings seldom resembles the kinds of deliberative democratic models of citizen participation promoted by normative discourses on state-society relations in the mainstream planning literature. Watson (2003) uses a planning case in Cape Town to illustrate the gap between the notion of ‘proper citizens’ and ‘proper living environments’ espoused by the state, and the nature of the rationality guiding the actions of the parties involved. Watson (2003:395) maintains “there is not yet sufficient recognition of just how deep difference can be, and how planners can frequently find themselves in situations characterized by conflicting rationalities.” Thus, the inherited colonial planning systems are not responsive to the urban context of the Southern cities.

In the face of the multiplication of players and conflicting rationalities, state-centric perspectives of governance that focus exclusively on the workings of the formal institutions of the state are considered insufficient for grasping the complex webs of power at work in many cities in the global South. A different perspective is offered in the work of Michael Foucault (1980; Kelly & Foucault, 1994), where power is not the possession of some groups or institutions. Rather, it is diffused through society, and circulates between people, who both exercise and are subjected to power. According to Allen (2004), power is all-encompassing, ubiquitous and pervasive in society. Consequently, it has no obvious location(s) and no centres. Domination and resistance are conceived as hybrid and mutually constituted phenomena, where the one carries “a trace of the other that contaminates or subverts it” (Lindell, 2008:1880; Sharp et al, 2000). In the South, the multiplicity of power centres shape the relations between society and the state, making the engagements fluid, multiple, complex, conflicted and sometimes informal.

Writing on Indian society, Chatterjee (2004) theorises two sets of conceptual connections that are important in the way scholars and practitioners understand state-society relations in developing countries. One is the line connecting civil society to the nation-state founded on popular sovereignty and granting equal rights to citizens. The other is the line connecting populations to governmental agencies pursuing multiple policies of security and welfare (Chatterjee, 2004). Chatterjee’s arguments are useful in enabling researchers to understand and theorise state-society relations in developing countries apart from India. For example, a large proportion of the population in many cities in Sub-Saharan Africa live in informal settlements which state instruments (legal and policy) consider illegal. However, this does not mean that residents of informal settlements are outside the reach of the state or even excluded from the domain of politics and state functionalities (Goodfellow, 2011; Earle, 2009; Chatterjee, 2004; 2011). Benjamin (2004) insists that there is a stark contradiction between rigid legal planning and urban realities, and that a “porous bureaucracy” exists (Bénit-Gbaffou & Oldfield, 2011:447). While policy makers extol the virtues of democratic citizenship and participation, actually “existing forms of participation in many parts of the global South do not conform to these idealised models” (Robins et al, 2008:1070). The nature of relations between people and the state in political and historical contexts marked by histories of disenfranchisement, authoritarianism and clientelism is different to the democratic practices found in countries of the North (Robins et al, 2008).

Actual urban governance in the South involves various layers of relations - those between the state and civil groups as well as those within and between civil groups. These different layers of relations interact with each other in complex ways. Civil groups may represent group interests and engage with the state to defend these interests. Secondly, civil groups may perform gap-filling functions by delivering basic services and addressing material needs. In performing this role, civil groups often regulate access to resources, establish rules of conduct and become sites of governance in their own right (Lindell, 2008). Therefore, analyses of urban governance ought to consider not only how civil groups relate to the state, but also the relations within these groups as they exercise governance (Bénit-Gbaffou & Oldfield, 2011). A growing literature reveals problems of exclusion, representation, accountability and low levels of participation within many civil groups in African contexts (Mitlin, 2004). According to Robins (2008), it is more realistic in post-colonial contexts to build on existing practices and strategies, including social protest, all of which people regularly use to secure resources. Lindell (2008) writes about the special role of women in shaping urban governance in general and in localised urban market management in Maputo. Pozarny (2016) argues that women do not benefit equally to men in urban environments. Gender inequalities are experienced in many areas of everyday life, accessing decent education, work opportunities, workloads, accessing financial assets and housing security, fair tenure rights, access to services, asset accumulation, engaging in public governance structures, and personal security⁸. Thus, women in many communities in the global South are likely to organise around social sector issues and departments concerned with health, education, poverty reduction, water and livelihoods. This pattern is often replicated at the level of community participation and organisation (Lindell, 2006). Hence, rather than the eradication of these alternative forms of ‘politics’, urban governance could more productively be incorporated into wider transformative struggles. Robins et al (2008: 1069) calls for “more attention to contextual understandings of the politics of everyday life, and to locating state, NGO and donor rhetorics and programmes promoting ‘active citizenship’ and ‘participatory governance’ in the conditions” of the urban South. In the following paragraphs, I discuss the relevance of postcolonial ideas to planning theory in the global South.

2.4 Planning theory in the global South

Southern planning theorists argue that there are two problems with ‘northern’ planning theory. Firstly, it is based on assumptions which are drawn from the context which informs them, but these assumptions are based on strong and well-resourced states, and strong civil society.

⁸ <http://www.gsdr.org/,15/09/16>

Secondly, these theories are generalised to all parts of the world since it is rarely specified which part of the world they actually apply to. Furthermore, planning needs to engage with the postcolonial conditions of the global South. Porter (2006) maintains that mainstream planning theories and approaches lack some important aspects: there is no analysis of the culture of the practice of planning in postcolonial contexts (Porter, 2016). Planning in postcolonial contexts is still rooted in its colonial as well as its modernist roots. Accordingly, the very technologies, objectives, values, processes and knowledge that constitute the daily practices of state-based planning are themselves complicit with the ongoing colonial domination of place and territory. Thus, planning in postcolonial contexts should be seen to be bound by its own colonial cultural roots and profoundly structured by colonial ways of thinking that continue to shape practice. Therefore, planning theory building from these contexts should seek to understand the detailed practices and meanings of planning cultures as defined by coloniality and this would lead to discovery of opportunities for transformation (Porter, 2006).

The demarcation of the urban poor in much of the global South as ‘informal’, ‘slum’, ‘illegal’ as against the formal, regularised, legal and proper (Varley, 2013; Roy, 2005) reflects an imposition of Western planning systems and visions upon different societies and cultures. According to Porter (2010), this is problematic and is seen as an indication of the Othering processes of planning. The notion that theory and praxis can come from elsewhere means that concepts of the urban and of planning can be reformulated, allowing different practices, methods and categories to be conceptualized (Watson 2006; 2009). Planning and its theorisation has been charged as having a “duplicious relationship to processes of capitalist accumulation and liberal notions of benevolent trusteeship” (Rankin, 2010:183). The categories of the ‘urban’ which constitutes state, citizenship, property and law that we regard as both normal and normative in planning theory all assume a universalised human experience and cast quite different organisations of social life as empirical differences and variations on a theme (Roy, 2015). This kind of theory has limited explanatory power and its normative intent falls short in addressing urban concerns as the theory simply glosses over much of the detail of southern urban contexts.

Planning thought that attempts to explain deep-running conflict over land and services in colonial contexts but without acknowledging the consequential nature of that context has been shown as seriously limited and inappropriate (Watson & Odendaal, 2013; Odendaal, 2011; Porter, 2010). Theories of governance, state action, deliberation and civil society that misrecognise or occlude how social relations in any given place and time are refracted through

colonial relations of power have little explanatory capability. There is growing literature in planning theory showing a theoretical commitment to challenge hegemony and universalizing standards for planning thinking, thus, indicating a commitment to difference. Drawing on the postcolonial notion of hybridity (Harrison, 2006), the challenge for the postcolonial South is to cross borders and make the connections that will bring about new ways of seeing, from the South (Watson, 2009). Border thinking will allow for reasoning that lies somewhere between Western rationality and the diverse rationalities of everyday life in the South vis-à-vis city planning (Harrison, 2006).

It is extraordinarily problematic to entirely rely on Northern-derived planning ideals in the contexts of deep difference and conflicting rationalities that characterise state-society relations in the global South (Watson, 2003). It is “...difficult to imagine how the conditions of openness and transparency, required for a legitimate consensus building process...” will be attained in Sub-Saharan Africa (Harrison, 2006:329). There is an “...increasing body of evidence suggesting that the plans and policies that are able to engage transversally with this hidden network are those which are most likely to have a positive and enduring impact on the lives of urban citizens” (Harrison, 2006:332). When planning frameworks are imposed by municipalities, citizens do resist. However, I take note that community resistance to manipulative state policies and actions takes different forms in different parts of the world. Insurgency of the kind described by James Holston in Brazil, and social protests in South Africa, manifests in open and violent contestation (Holston, 1998). This tends to happen in societies with strong and organised civil society. However in other parts of the world, where civil society is less well-organised conflict and resistance take a far more covert form. In the different context of Southeast and Central Asia, Nihal Perera (2016) argues that subaltern classes are often unable to engage in open protest where state or corporation-produced space does not fit their needs. However, they shape urban space in more subtle and covert ways. This builds on the ideas of Asef Bayat, who writes about the ‘quiet encroachment of the ordinary’ (Bayat, 2010). Having discussed the nature of the state and the role of citizens in shaping urban environments in the global South, the remaining part of this chapter will focus on the concept of co-production as an emerging theoretical frame for planning in the global South.

2.5 Co-production: A conceptual review

While recognising that other civil society organisations engage in urban development through the co-production approach, this section examines the use of co-productive concepts and strategies by citizen groups and social movement organisations to enable individual members

and their associations to secure “effective relations with state institutions” that address both immediate basic needs and enable them to negotiate for greater benefits (Mitlin, 2008:339; Boonyabancha & Mitlin, 2012). Based on various cases, the aim of this section is to analyse the various capabilities and emerging methodologies that co-production seeks to build among the groups of citizens working to promote productive state-society engagements in the cities of the global South. This contributes to the goal of the thesis which is to test the concepts and methodologies using the case (Kampala) to enhance co-production as a normative and procedural theoretical framework for undertaking planning and urban development in the global South.

A different approach to state-society engagement on urban issues has been used in practice by a number of Non-governmental Organisations (NGOs) in the global South. Over the last three to four decades, a growing number of urban poor organisations have shifted from claim making to co-production. This section reviews the concept of co-production – state and citizens working together – as a grassroots strategy to secure political influence and access to resources and services. Seeing co-production practices through the prism of postcolonial theory offers a real possibility to build what Harrison (2006) calls ‘alternative thinking’ (hybridity) in planning. Co-production offers an opportunity for planning theorists to engage with contexts beyond the global North in building theory that engages with reality in many parts of the world. Co-production cases therefore serve to ‘deepen the pot’ from which planning ideas can be drawn and hence potentially expand the scope of planning thought (Watson, 2014:63).

2.5.1 Origins of the concept of co-production: different interpretations and practices

The idea of co-production emerged in different contexts and from different intellectual traditions. Ostrom (1996:1073), writing from the perspective of Public Administration and Political Science in the North, defines co-production as “...the process through which inputs used to produce a good or service is contributed by individuals who are not in the same organisation.” Joshi and Moore (2004:40) refine this definition to suggest that “institutionalised co-production is the provision of public services through regular, long-term relations between state agencies and organised groups of citizens, who both make substantial resource contributions.” This older version of “co-production implies that there is a possibility that citizens might influence the execution of public policies as well as its formulation” and ‘players interact to adjust each other’s expectations and actions’ (Whitaker, 1980:242). Ostrom and Whitaker, writing in the context of the global North, focus on the benefits of co-production to service delivery in the context of reducing public expenditure. Ostrom’s ideas of co-production

are fundamentally different from the way grassroots movements such as SDI and the Asian Coalition for Housing Rights (ACHR) conceptualise and practice co-production in the cities of the global South in that membership movements practice co-production as a tool for empowering the urban poor to assert their roles in urban development. The SDI practices used to empower the poor and upgrade settlements were previously referred to as ‘rituals’ to denote a set of practices and activities involving partnership-building between the state and community residents and a national support NGO, savings, exchange visits and capacity building. Mitlin (2008) was the first to describe these partnerships as co-production denoting a broad range of practices in a partnership-based settlement intervention involving the state and the SDI alliance, together working in informal settlements of many cities in the South. The alliance between the state, Federation (community) and NGO can also be described as the Partnership. It should be noted that the grassroots movement practice of co-production is relatively new and its use of concepts such as the state, democracy and citizenship are yet to be theorised. A brief attempt to theorise these concepts in the context of grassroots-driven and partnership-based settlement interventions (co-production) were made by Appadurai (2001). However, cognate materials about the state and citizenship have been analysed in the previous paragraphs, and later on advanced in chapters five through to eight.

2.5.2 Co-production as a grassroots movement’s strategy for community empowerment

In many citizen-led co-production engagements, conflict is acknowledged and multiple strategies can be adopted to promote outcomes that favour the urban poor. State-society relations are distinguished as they involve different kinds of strategies – conflict, cooperation and boycotts - all meant to push for a pro-poor urban agenda. As such, citizen-led co-production involves ‘negotiating’ with, or putting pressure on, the state so that local groups (in this case members of grassroots movements and pro-poor organisations working in urban development environments in the global South) can be directly involved in the design, management and implementation of state programmes. Mitlin (2008:347) locates citizen-led co-production...

...within a broader struggle for choice, self-determination and meso-level political relations in which citizens both seek an engagement with the state and also are oriented towards self-management and local control over local provision in areas related to community development needs and aspirations. She defines coproduction as a political process that citizens engage with to secure changes in their relations with government and state agencies in addition to improvement of basic services.

Mitlin (2008) recognises the role of power and conflict, state functionality and the structure of society in shaping the relationship between the state and the urban poor. She argues “...the

nature of groups arising from a grassroots co-production process offer particular benefits to the poor, extending political practice through drawing in new groups and persuading the state to respond positively” (2008:353). Dubbing it citizen-led or grassroots co-production, Mitlin (2008) argues that co-production is different from standard ‘participation’ or ‘partnership’ arrangements. As opposed to Ostrom’s position on co-production as a state-orchestrated cost reduction project, Mitlin (2008) argues that the interpretation and practice of co-production strengthens citizen mobilisation and so provides a platform for a wider civic and political engagement and reforms in the way state agencies function (Albrechts, 2013). This implies that co-production by grassroots movements is more of a social movement strategy that is designed to empower communities to achieve strategic gains for themselves.

While collaborative and communicative planning approaches do not give sufficient treatment to power (within state and communities, and the encounter of the two), through use of specific tools and methodologies (see below and chapter 5), co-production is about management of power and conflict to advance and protect the interests of citizens. Co-production challenges the dominant power of the state and seeks to shift power towards communities. Co-production involves civic movements as mediators of conflict between state and society. Drawing on examples from civic movements and participation discourses of the urban poor in planning in Bolivia, Brazil and South Africa, Miraftab (2009:34) argues that through persistent counter-hegemonic practices, the movements expose and upset the normalised relations of dominance (‘war of positions’). The sites of power are multiple (Lindell, 2008) and shifting, as are the sites for counter-hegemonic movements. Analysis of squatter movements in the global South reveals that they breed counter-hegemonic and insurgent movements, mobilising beyond the state’s control and claiming their right to the city. Thus, co-production encourages both conflict and collaboration. Co-production can be related to the arguments by Holston (2008), as having the capabilities that both produce stability in state–citizen relations and destabilise them.

As a collective endeavour, co-production is conceived here as a combination of a needs-based and rights-based approach to urban development. It is inclusionary and intends to secure political influence and to change the status of state dominance in urban development projects. The approach combines local and scientific knowledge, and it provides an interaction between the delivery of public goods (knowledge, plans, policies, projects) and building strong, resilient, mutually supportive communities (Bradlow, 2015). It must be emphasized that the concept of co-production by NGOs is a normative and moral one in the field of planning and urban development. The content of the approach to urban development is informed by certain

ideals and principles, and these norms articulate certain values (social justice, equity, spatial integration, sustainability, and accountability). These values may be appreciated differently from the perspective of the state, the community and NGOs. So stakeholders “expect conflicts and clashes” between the different players (Albrechts, 2013:53). As the values, interests and views of players are different (conflicting rationalities), it is obvious to expect conflicts and clashes between traditionally closed systems (governments, business) and the open systems (communities, NGOs) linked to co-production. Thus, sometimes, settlement upgrade processes suffer from tensions between those partners embedded in the system (politicians and planners), with access to the system, and those who function outside the system (NGOs members and community residents) (Albrechts, 2013). Co-production engages with differences and diversity within communities, and within the state and between the two. This nature of relations does affect the outcome of many co-production engagements.

In recent years, the concept of co-production has been raising interest in planning theory and is seemingly useful when analysing the area of state-society engagement, as well as building planning ideas based on settlement upgrade engagements which are happening in many cities of the global South (Watson, 2014). Watson (2009), Harrison (2006) and Albrechts (2013) call for planning to go beyond Western realities and practices and to recognise the complexities of state functionality and activities of populations and how the two shape urban development in non-Occidental societies. Indeed, if citizens, especially the disadvantaged, are to address their issues, problems, challenges and views, a different kind of engagement with the state is required to reform practices.

There are a number of reasons why the idea of co-production is of interest to planning theorists. Firstly, authors argue that co-production represents one way in which “poor urban communities in many cities of the global South have been able to secure significant improvements to their living environments under conditions in which governments are either unwilling or unable to deliver land and services” (Watson, 2014:63). Recent cases of co-production indicate a quite different form of ‘participation’ to examples commonly represented as collaborative or communicative planning. Where cases of co-production processes illustrate innovative and positive state-society relations, then it is important to extract both the successes and pitfalls of these cases and explain the key determinants of the ultimate nature of the relationship between society and the state. Co-production is concerned with how state and society can engage in order to improve the quality of life of populations, especially the urban poor and marginalised. The cases indicate that co-production aims at achieving planning outcomes that promote socio-

spatial justice and are more equitable and sustainable in urban development. Thus, while the approach is very different, the end goals and values promoted by co-production appear to be the same as those promoted in communicative and collaborative narratives (Watson, 2012; 2014).

Co-production has major democratic implications because it seems to locate users and communities more centrally in the decision-making processes and demands an interface between service users and the state (Mitlin, 2008). Unlike in the older version of co-production (see Ostrom, 1996), civic movements have a defined role of mobilising and mediating between state ways of operations and non-state players to ensure a collective democratic practice (Appadurai, 2001). Thus, authors insist that co-production arrangements represent efforts to reconstitute citizenship in cities that are marked by the staggering presence of informality and poverty. The movements realise that in the global South cities, where resources are scarce and institutions of governance are weak, "...representative democracy often suffers from skewed power and resource distribution and that it often fails to effectively represent the interests of the urban poor"...(Pal, 2006:505). As such, co-production relies on networks that provide new horizontal modes for articulating the deep democratic politics of cities, creating groupings and partnerships that champion inclusive urban development and service delivery (Roy, 2009; Mitlin, 2004). Appadurai (2001), rather optimistically, describes such practices in urban development and management as the dawn of deepening democracy supported by increasing globalisation from below.

The practice of participatory settlement upgrading claims to further democratic principles and responds to the ironies of democratic will and practice in delivering urban services in urban locales where delivery of basic services is rather dismal and exclusionary (Albrechts, 2013; Mitlin, 2008). As such, membership associations and urban development movements seem to present a vision of new forms of democracy and act as devolved networks and mechanisms through which the urban poor show that they can effectively participate in the affairs of cities to re-profile urban development course (Appadurai, 2001). In building these relationships, co-production entails a system through which local residents get actively involved in local planning decisions, financing, implementation and management of settlement upgrading initiatives. In so doing, co-production approaches to settlement interventions consider the state as having the potential to support or inhibit transformative and inclusive development actions. Thus, the approach uses both cooperation and conflict to challenge entrenched disempowering state practices. Further, co-production seeks to transform citizenship to create a group of

engaged community actors that can both demand for development and be prepared to mobilise for individual and community action. Thus, co-production endeavours to achieve increased democratisation of both society and the state from below through use of specific practices and processes (Appadurai, 2001).

2.5.3 Ideas and concepts from cases of co-production in the global South

While there are many published cases of citizen-led co-production in the South, there has not been much theorising of the concept. Thus, this thesis draws on co-production interventions and initiatives in the global South cities: case-based literature and institutional web information on co-production in Asia, Latin America and Africa. The initiatives and organisations are reviewed to identify common principles, concepts and practices that distinguish co-production from communicative and collaborative planning theories. The leading organisations working with urban poor populations in various co-production initiatives include Slum/Shack Dwellers International (SDI) and the Asian Coalition for Housing Rights (ACHR). Mitlin (2014; 2008) identifies Shack/Slum Dwellers International (SDI), a network of over 36 national alliances of federations of the urban poor and support NGOs found in Asia, Africa and South America as a key civic trans-national movement practicing co-production from below. Other dominant movements include the Indian Alliance of the National Slum Dwellers Federation, Mahila Milan (Women Together) and the support NGO called SPARC (the Society for the Promotion of Area Resource Centres). The Mahila Milan/SPARC initiative led to replications in many countries and the birth of various national alliances doing a lot of planning related work in many cities of the South. The Orangi Pilot Project (OPP) in Karachi, Pakistan, which began in the early 1980s with redesigning approaches to sanitation and water infrastructural systems remains one of the best known and well documented co-production cases. The OPP has led both to additional programmes of activities within OPP itself, and replications of their sanitation work in other countries. The Urban Community Development Office in Thailand, established in 1992, has become the Community Organisation Development Institute (CODI) - a parastatal of increasing autonomy which has supported hundreds of savings-based community organisations across the country (Archer, 2012). The Asian Coalition for Community Action (ACCA) is a programme of the Asian Coalition for Housing Rights that began in 2010. These organisations and initiatives have laid the foundation for the widespread practices of co-production in the global South.

Satterthwaite et al (2015) review a number of recent papers on co-production practices in the global South and establish that projects and initiatives on sanitation improvement in informal

settlements share some key characteristics. Firstly, all the initiatives include community management, mobilisation of funds from households, and implement measures to keep costs affordable for low-income households. Other characteristics include working with local government authorities to take communities' evolving solutions to scale. In some cases like Mumbai, "a very large-scale community toilet programme was made possible because the municipal government could cover the capital costs and the community residents had to use facility user revenues to cover their own operating and maintenance costs" (Satterthwaite et al, 2015:7). The paper by Banana et al (2015) reflects on what has been learned from community-led investment in sanitation initiatives in Blantyre (Malawi), Chinhoyi (Zimbabwe), Dar es Salaam (Tanzania) and Kitwe (Zambia) where city authorities and grassroots movements implemented co-production initiatives to test what was possible in informal settlements with very low-income groups (Banana et al, 2015). Chitekwe-Biti, et al (2012) further explore how communities in Chinhoyi, Zimbabwe used community-led mapping and enumerations to build partnerships with local government to support the development and co-production of innovative pro-poor city-wide sanitation strategies.

In all the co-production initiatives in the cities reviewed, the work on sanitation was preceded by the gathering of detailed data on existing provision for sanitation by the federations concerned. Banana et al (2015) describe the community-led household surveys, discussion groups and mapping to document the inadequacies in provision for water and sanitation in Chinhoyi (Zimbabwe). The Chinhoyi case, as well as several others, shows that local governments are often more ready to support local processes if there is a community organisation in place with which they can work. As shown by several papers (Satterthwaite et al, 2015), co-producing sanitation solutions with representative community organisations can bring down costs, help generate more revenue and make shared and community solutions work for all residents. In Chinhoyi, communities used community-led mapping and enumerations to build partnerships with local government to support the development and co-production of innovative pro-poor city-wide sanitation strategies. Although examples of sanitation co-production show great variety in what they actually do, they have some common elements. In each settlement, residents are active in discussions about what should be done (to what standards, at what cost, who pays what and how payments are structured) and who should be involved in the planning and implementation (Satterthwaite et al, 2015).

In all the reviewed co-production initiatives, communities of the urban poor worked with local governments to co-construct knowledge and information about their development needs

through the use of maps, profiles and enumerations. This was achieved through detailed slum enumerations and surveys to document the development needs of each household and to develop or improve local maps as the basis for detailed development plans (Banana et al, 2015). More recently, co-production partnerships have been discussed in light of their scope to shape and democratise urban planning processes and policy. The collaboration between Chinhoyi Municipality and the alliance of Dialogue on Shelter and the Zimbabwe Homeless People's Federation emerged because the local authority was open to new ideas, including community-driven data collection and planning, partnerships for co-production of basic services, and innovative financing mechanisms. The communities were encouraged to organise around savings groups and to devise and develop their own community management styles. Several authors indicate that, in so doing, communities have demonstrated the value of collective organising over individual household endeavours to gain access to sanitation.

Karanja (2010) describes an enumeration of all households living in informal settlements in Kisumu, Kenya, implemented by their inhabitants and supported by savings groups, the Kenyan Homeless People's Federation (Muungano wa Wanavijiji), of which they are members, and Pamoja Trust, a Kenyan NGO. It is argued that the enumeration reports helped inform the residents of each settlement about their needs, and supported their collective discussions about priorities. Patel & Baptist (2012:4) maintain that the fact that there are burgeoning academic "papers and reports on co-production from India, Uganda, Ghana, South Africa, Namibia, Tanzania, Brazil, Thailand and Zimbabwe shows that it is not uncommon". These papers include examples of city-wide documentation and mapping, savings and infrastructure development initiatives in slums.

The similarities between these different examples are also no coincidence, as all the experiences were undertaken by slum dwellers who are members of grassroots movements. There is a common procedural practice and end goal, and this leads the authors to postulate that co-production is replicable in many contexts of the Urban South. Arguably, the political strategies of these grassroots organisations are similar to the civil society-oriented lobbying styles, in that they seek to have their demands viewed as reasonable and responsible (Harriss, 2006). Cage (2014) claims that this is made possible because of the social capital created by the urban poor themselves. As such, government rationalities and community interests and priorities get to be effectively negotiated and managed without disruptive violent conflicts (Bradlow, 2015).

It should be noted that in the process of maintaining community relations with the state, low level conflicts are ever present in all co-production processes. Disagreements are a common feature of issues around land access, planning and design standards, rates of development and modalities of co-financing of development programmes. To achieve progress at both community and city scale, NGOs and communities constantly straddle between engagement and resistance in their negotiations with the state. Thus, this thesis benefits from the use of Foucauldian conceptualisation of power as “capillary”, (denoting power is everywhere and in everyone) “micro-practices” (Fraser, 1981:272) (power is as present in the most apparently trivial details and relations of everyday life as it is in corporate suites) and is appropriate to distil and analyse the complex fluid nature of co-production. Foucault enables us to understand the role of power very finely as anchored in the multiplicity of social practices and the ‘politics of everyday life’ in co-production engagements (Shove & Walker, 2010). As can be seen from the forgoing paragraphs, most publication on co-production is done by NGO affiliated authors and the literature seems uncritical of the approach. Given that power can be positive or negative and is always present, this thesis explores the full complexities of co-production by analysing positive and negative elements of community-centred and state-centred power bases and interactions in co-production.

The reviewed interventions and programmes (as above) offer a basis for a nuanced theoretical understanding of how co-production strategies have evolved, why they have been effective within their particular social, spatial and political context and temporal moment, and how their evolution is leading to a more substantive framework for undertaking urban development in the global South cities. Together, they include ideas and concepts that underpin the new generation of emerging ideas and practices in state-society relations in the global South. These interventions offer insights into what it takes to shift technocrats, state agencies and political institutions (with their norms, values and ways of behaving) to be more pro-poor and inclusive. These organisations have implemented interventions that include both action on the ground to address immediate needs, and renegotiating relations between citizens and the state. All the examples support the agency and collective capacity of low-income groups (Mitlin, 2014).

2.6 Organising concepts in co-production

Inclusive planning and attention to ‘weaker groups’ of society are seen as key aspects of grassroots organisational discourses during settlement upgrade activities. According to Appadurai (2002:25), both local and transnational SDI networks provide the possibility of ‘deepening democracy’ through “new horizontal modes for articulating the deep democratic

politics of the locality”. Appadurai’s writings, and SDI’s conceptualisation of deep democracy highlight the organising principles and images of the network and ‘the interconnected web of social players’. Thus, a practice is created “...where the state is made more accountable to communities and the community gets more convinced that they have a right and capacity to hold state agencies to account” (Mitlin, 2014:17). Organised groups make claims and are able to use multiple strategies to advance community aspirations while holding the state to account. Mitlin (2014) argues that successful co-production engagements have over time produced and nurtured critical collective capabilities that enable planning to occur differently from the communicative and collaborative theories. Co-production initiatives encourage grassroots participation and local governance, and can promote a new state-society synergy while complementing the role of local NGOs (Ibrahim, 2006). Supportive NGOs do build capacity in community residents, and this increases their capability to champion effective engagement between the state and organised societal groups.

A review of the co-production cases indicate that the initiatives involve use of collective capabilities as a way of asserting the voice of communities to influence power relations and achieve material gains for both individuals and communities. Mitlin (2014) argues that the capabilities in co-production activities result firstly in productive local organisations and communities that have the capacity to set priorities and work inclusively across city neighbourhoods. Secondly, the approach leads to city-wide networks of the urban poor which are able to share information and strategies to address the needs and interests of the members. Thirdly, the approach allows for the urban poor to forge new alliances between organisations of the urban poor and the state; and the resultant capability to co-produce urban development programmes at scale (Mitlin, 2014). By and large, co-production engagements by these organisations and others discourage disruptive, open and violent conflicts⁹ as a means of altering the functions of the state so that planning and service delivery are people-led and inclusive. There is also a concern that violent protest excludes women. The following sub-sections explain common practices and concepts meant to build collective capabilities in co-production initiatives and programmes.

2.6.1 Savings schemes as a way of building collective capabilities and community strength

The core form of organisation within the reviewed NGO-led interventions is the savings scheme, a local group that draws together residents, mainly women, in low-income informal

⁹ SDI seeks to protect the rights of women to participate in development planning and service delivery.

urban neighbourhoods to save, share their resources, and strategies to address their collective needs. Savings addresses critical immediate needs and also provides the opportunity to build collectives necessary for engaging with the state systems (Mitlin et al, 2011). The famous phrase in the activities of the SDI across the over thirty-six countries is: ‘we do not collect money, we collect people¹⁰’. In all cases of co-production, there is encouragement for these groups to aggregate and form a critical mass at city level and nationally. Savings practices are said to enable grassroots organisations to develop units, to work together, to trust each other with finance and information and to establish settlement level priorities for development and neighbourhood improvements (Watson, 2014). It is argued in the relevant literature that this capability leads to popular support or rejection of government activities for urban development. In all the case studies, there is a strong claim that co-production embodies social organising concepts and practices (social assets) that produce high levels of participation and mutual interaction among city residents and communities and, in turn, facilitate productive engagements with state agencies.

Being women-dominated, savings are said to encourage regular interactions and create a ‘space’ for the central participation of women in development activities of informal settlements and neighbourhoods. Thus, writers claim, savings tend to facilitate genuine participatory planning as the practice shifts the balance of power and ‘expert knowledge’ from technocratic and hierarchical state structures to local, decentralised federations. The national federations that are affiliates of the SDI strengthen local devolved groupings with savings, a process requiring regular day-to-day contacts between neighbours, and then link the local savings groups through regional and national federations (Mitlin, 2008). Mitlin (2008: 356) emphasises that “federating is a critical link whereby local groups are drawn into processes that both emphasise their solidarity with one another and create a political union able to negotiate directly with the state.” These case studies argue that the process of co-production resists individualization, both increasing the density of working relations between groups and strengthening their consciousness about the benefits of such collaboration. This changes the nature of the platform for state-society engagements as the community is seen to be a strong force that cannot be ignored in urban development affairs in many parts of the global South. And now, there are many officially signed Memoranda of Understanding (MoUs) between these organised/federating groups and state agencies. SDI’s “commitment to building collaborative partnerships between organised communities and local governments is one of its

¹⁰ <http://www.ACTogetherug.org/index.php/features/savings, 08/05/16>

most important contributions” to participatory, inclusive, pro-poor and sustainable development (SDI, 2016:18).

2.6.2 Knowledge exchange and upscaling: NGO networks and city learning from below

The case study literature argues that the networking and federating emphasis is critical to building mass organisations, and this is another collective capability of co-production. Local groups participate in learning exchanges, as representatives from different savings groups visit each other to build solidarity and learn from various community experiences and innovations. This process helps to ensure that knowledge about cities and development ideas come from the urban poor and are not imposed on them by professionals (Patel et al, 2012). It is argued that learning, rooted at this level, consolidates individual and collective confidence among informal settlement residents in their own capacities (McFarlane, 2006) and this creates potential for effective participation necessary for achieving inclusive planning. Consistent horizontal interactions, made possible through exchange activities, are said to build strong relationships between peers, adding to the effectiveness of local negotiations as they engage with the state and other players in urban development (Mitlin, 2014). Writing about SDI activities in India, McFarlane (2011:69) refers to these exchanges as “trans-local urban learning assemblages” of materials, practices, designs, knowledge, personal stories and local histories, with the notion of assemblage placing an emphasis on urban learning and alignment between the social and material at different sites. These networks become essential and useful in shaping what the city essentially becomes. The networks pose some sort of city knowledge which eventually finds itself incorporated into state activities.

2.6.3 Managing conflicting rationalities: Embracing resistance and engagement

A third co-production capability discussed in the case study literature involves strategies for successful engagement with the state. The strengthening of the networks is important, because mass organisations pre-empt conflict due to their scale and encourage or pressurise governments to negotiate. The conflict of rationalities may not be removed (state and communities may still have very different values and ambitions) but the state (planners) may be persuaded to consider pragmatic solutions to community needs. The capability enables city networks to take on an alternative approach to the ‘contentious politics’, highlighted by Charles Tilly’s (Tilly, 2004) work on social movements, and the totality of engagement between citizens and the state. The SDI and other examples of organisations facilitating co-production in the cities of the global South state their central goal is to seek productive partnerships, in which they can work together to address, for example, infrastructure deficiencies in cities and

communities. In the case of OPP, for instance, organised citizens invested in lane sanitation, and the city provided secondary drains and the other bulk infrastructure that is needed.

For example, Mitlin (2014:24) reports on the activities of the Ugandan SDI alliance in Greater Kampala:

We scare them (state) because of our numbers. We must be listened to. Community-led processes based on savings overturn past practices, in which council funds were allocated by those with political connections. The value of the federation approach is that it both convinces council they must be accountable to communities and also convinces communities that they have the right and the capacity to hold council to account. The Ugandan federation members argue that their willingness to include rather than resist council involvement is what determines their success.

2.6.4 Information as a source of power- challenging established epistemologies

To promote new ways of generating information and knowledge about cities, community residents, with the support of NGO technical experts, lead the implementation of comprehensive city-wide community surveys to create knowledge about cities and recommend programmes of intervention. This approach claims to challenge the established epistemologies of contemporary ways of knowing and equips the urban poor with powerful tools to challenge state power. A knowledge base is established within the community resource centres and is at the disposal of residents to use to promote their desired ends. As such, co-production initiatives through community-led surveys lead to collective capabilities needed for negotiations to advance the pro-poor state. Community-managed enumerations (surveys), settlement profiles and maps create the information base needed for mobilisation, negotiation and delivery of houses and services (Watson, 2014; 2012). Chatterjee & Mehta (2007), in theorising the self-enumeration movement, argue that the articulation of power and knowledge in practices of government manifests in technologies of mapping and enumeration by which society makes itself visible to the state. This creates new types of social collectiveness. The reviewed cases indicate that the urban poor have used the survey in the same way government does, to transform themselves into a quantifiable population and to create documentary proof that they exist as a “collective that can speak back to government in its own language” (Chatterjee and Mehta, 2007:143; Watson, 2014). The role of knowledge is central in changing power relations between the state and society and in determining the course of settlement upgrades and urban development activities. In this way, knowledge serves to change power dynamics and leads to communities gaining more control over the process of urban development.

In the reviewed co-production engagements, the urban poor are reported to exercise power through self-enumerations and mapping and manage to present themselves as an indisputable and valuable stakeholder in urban development. Similar to Watson's (2003) argument, this writer contends that managing power and conflict in co-production processes is determined by the capacity of stakeholders to manage conflicting rationalities, views, knowledge and practices, and this is embodied in development processes and in technologies of rule such as surveys and maps (Chatterjee & Mehta, 2007). Under co-production, these tools and instruments are "appropriated by communities" (Watson, 2014:71). Appadurai (2012:640) describes enumerations as "tools for group formation", in the sense that they allow the creation of an "abstraction" that can have social and moral significance in the minds of community members. Therefore, enumerations serve as a tool for creating coordinated and informed communities that can effectively engage with the state in matters of urban development. The key principle behind community-driven enumerations is to empower local associations and guide upgrade processes. The bigger picture sought by enumeration activities is to change the nature of relations between citizens and the state, to enable the more effective realisation of state support for equity, sustainability of initiatives, social justice and the reduction of poverty (Mitlin, 2014). So, enumerations are useful for quantifying and qualifying societal problems, which also involve setting priorities for settlement upgrading.

In many cities, alliances of grassroots movements and state agencies claim to have creatively used traditional instruments to persuade governments to 'listen' to them and act differently. The enumerations and mapping activities, writers claim, have enabled the SDI alliances to change the balance of power within relationships, holding professionals to account, engaging with them freely and with confidence, and managing to renegotiate when difficulties and conflicts arise. Debates and negotiations are based on facts and truths generated by both the community and state functionalities. Thus, there is a scenario where professionals and community residents begin to operate on mutually agreed terms and this makes participatory planning a reality. In Harare, Zimbabwe, for instance, the local planning authority sanctioned community-driven enumerations and later on participated in the enumeration process. Local politicians appear to have engaged in community building in support of this process (Chitekwe-Biti et al, 2012). Enumeration activities create a grounded experience that enables the communities and NGOs to represent policies that are derived from the preferences and priorities of their members, designed through the lens of people's everyday realities and everyday politics (Mitlin, 2008).

All co-production methodologies prioritise the role of women in transforming urban interventions. The approach seeks to actively position women as dominant urban development actors. This is so because the approach recognises the central role and unique position that women occupy in both household livelihood security and community development and management in the cities of the South. Co-production literature lay great emphasis on the role of women in sustaining the co-production activities and shaping the resultant urban development processes and outcomes in many cities of the South¹¹ (Mitlin, 2008; 2014; Watson, 2014; McFarlane, 2011). Evidence from practice-based literature shows that women have been able to hold together in pursuing a collective community development agenda and urban management programmes. With support from professionals based in support NGOs, women have elected to push for reforms in the way planning is done in many cities of the South.

2.7 Conclusion

The literature on co-production cases claims that it is a mechanism for change that makes the difference between planning systems and practices either working or failing in many cities of the South. Co-production strengthens the local organisation base of citizens, specifically the urban poor, and increases their collective capacity to negotiate successfully with state systems and other powerful players in urban development. The approach introduces into cities and regions new identities and practices that disturb established histories and questions epistemologies responsible for dominant practices of state-society relations. Co-production embodies the potential to serve as both a procedural and normative conceptual vessel to promote the rights of citizens and provide the public goods and services that are much needed. The use of co-production as a central concept in planning could be looked upon as a process of becoming, a process of negotiating and discussing the meanings of problems, of evidence, of (political) strategies, of justice or fairness and the nature of urban development outcomes. These outcomes must be well informed, just and viable. However, the cases reveal that not all co-production engagements are successful without conflicts and, sometimes, even abandonment. In many cases, things do go wrong, expectations are raised, outcomes can be unpredictable and power can be ‘captured’ by various groups and used for their own ends. The following chapter presents the research methodology.

¹¹ <http://skoll.org/organization/slum-dwellers-international/>

CHAPTER 3

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.0 Introduction

This chapter provides a review of the research methodology that was used to execute the study. The chapter discusses the case study method, detailing limitations and strengths. I emphasise the importance of Flyvbjerg's (2001; 2004) arguments for planning research to turn to phronesis as the analytical tool to make planning thrive. I further explain the processes and procedures that I implemented during primary information/data collection and analysis. As such, the chapter reviews the fundamentals of the case study research method in the context of phronetic social research which puts power at the centre of the research process.

This chapter is divided into six sections. Having presented the introduction to this chapter in section one, the second section presents a statement of the research problem and the research questions, detailing the research issue and how this issue reflects a gap in knowledge. In the third section, this researcher discusses the case study research method and its relevance for generating concepts, ideas and principles to advance the concept of co-production as an alternative city planning framework. The fourth section is used to explain case types and the relevance of the Kampala case in relation to theory development in co-production. In section five, the procedures and processes followed to choose research participants, ensure valid and ethical data/information, collection and analysis are explained. In section six key arguments contained in this chapter are presented and the next chapter, on policy context, is introduced.

3.1 Research gap- Statement of the research problem

The world has urbanised rapidly since 1950 and projections indicate that it will continue to do so in the coming decades. For the first time in history, more than half the world's people live in urban areas: 54% in 2014, a proportion that is expected to increase to 66% by 2050 (United Nations, 2014). According to the World Bank's 2011 estimates, over 90% of urban growth is occurring in the developing world. During the next two decades, the urban population of the world's two poorest divisions - South Asia and Sub-Saharan Africa - is expected to double.

Despite past and current trends of urbanisation, there is a growing recognition (Barnett & Parnell, 2016) that cities can lead the way towards economically, socially and environmentally sustainable societies, but that a new approach to urban planning and management is needed to facilitate change in urban development discourse, especially in the global South. Watson (2009b:251) makes the point that in many parts of the world, current urban planning systems

and processes are actually part of the problem: “They serve to promote social and spatial exclusion, are anti-poor, and are doing little to secure environmental sustainability.”

Urban planning, it is argued, therefore needs fundamental rethinking if it is to play a meaningful role in dealing with current and future urban issues. This call is justified by the fact that urban places everywhere have changed significantly: in terms of their economy, society, spatial structure and environments. Yet it appears that planning ideas, concepts and systems, particularly in the global South, have remained in the past, with many approaches and systems reflecting planning ideas from the global North simplistically transferred to Southern contexts. Formal planning systems are unable to address the complex urban challenges in the South. The scale of urban transformation in the global South presents formidable challenges that require a re-look at the way planning academics understand and theorise the urban and planning. For example, Harrison (2006:326) urges “planning theorists to draw on post-colonial ideas to bring about new ways of seeing”. He argues, planning theorists should avoid naive views on the possibilities of collaborative action within contexts of deep difference. Many urbanists, communities, service providers and NGOs are increasingly exploring alternative ways of producing housing and infrastructural services (Cohen, 2006; Ahlers et al, 2014). This is happening through under-researched and conceptually less understood new ways of state-society engagements in planning.

One approach which has recently emerged as a new and complex concept in the field of planning and urban development has been termed co-production. As discussed in chapter two, during co-production, city residents are no longer viewed as clients, but as active individuals and groups that change the course of planning and service delivery. Co-production forms of intervention enable citizens to become genuine resources, contributors of innovations and change agents. They stretch the meaning and role of citizenship in the planning field, and this transforms the process and outcomes of collaboration and participation in planning. This means that the concept of co-production has considerable potential for interventive theory and practice. However, this potential awaits a more rigorous theoretical framework for co-production in the global South context. Such an enhanced framework needs to be grounded in empirical data using concrete cases. As such, this study responds to this need in order to establish concepts, theory and practice ideas around co-production as an emerging frame of practicing city planning especially in the urban global South environments. The thesis contributes to a type of planning theory which is concerned with decision-making processes and state-community engagement in planning.

3.1.1 The aim: Research focus and strands of the inquiry

A number of central theoretical aspects and focus areas structure this inquiry. Firstly, the study aims to generate theoretical propositions that could help to inform the concept of co-production as a form of state-society engagement in city planning and development. Secondly, the study inquires how co-production engagements in the City of Kampala provide empirical support for an enhanced theoretical framework. To address these focus areas, the study focuses on infrastructure development in informal settlements of the City of Kampala in order to understand the various rationalities and power dynamics that influence co-production processes. This research addresses these themes as well as the sub-questions that derive from them.

The objectives of the research are:

- i. To analyse co-production engagements and activities in Kampala.
- ii. To examine state responses to community-led upgrade initiatives.
- iii. To examine community and NGO engagements with government to achieve informal upgrade initiatives using the co-production approach.
- iv. To understand how the exercise of power by state, community and the NGO shaped the outcome of co-production engagements in Kampala.

The overall research question is:

How do co-production engagements in the City of Kampala provide empirical support for an enhanced theoretical framework in planning which contributes to ideas of state-society engagement in the cities of the global South?

The overall research question generates the following research sub-questions:

- i. How have communities and the NGO called ACTogether engaged the state in Kampala on the issue of informal settlement recognition and service provision?
- ii. Have elements or groupings of communities engaged the state in different ways?
- iii. How has the state in Kampala (national and local) responded to initiatives from communities and ACTogether to engage in service provision?
- iv. Have different elements or departments in the state responded in different ways?
- v. How have power relations structured the relationships between communities, NGOs and the state in the process of engagement?

3.2 Research Methodology: the case method

Relevant literature such as Flyvbjerg (2006) indicate that good case studies in planning are needed to advance knowledge. "...a discipline without a large number of thoroughly executed

case studies is a discipline without systematic production of exemplars, and that a discipline without exemplars is an ineffective one... in planning research, a greater number of good case studies could help remedy this situation” (Flyvbjerg, 2006:242). This research is executed using an in-depth case study research method, and the reasons are as follows.

Cases studies are concerned with the need to build detailed understanding of various players surrounding a given process or phenomena or with a context. As such, case studies are useful for investigating particular events or actions in their real-life or real- world contexts (Duminy et al, 2014). The method enables a researcher to closely examine the data and information in relation to contextual players. Thus, the case study method allows the researcher to go beyond agency and structure shaping phenomenon and enables the inquiry process to engage with nuanced issues and relations of a given phenomenon in real-life situations. The case-based analysis focuses on players as well as structures, with the intention of showing players in relation to their context. This entails that the case method facilitates detailed contextual analysis of events, conditions and their inter-connections. Robert Yin (1994:14) defines the case study research method as “an empirical enquiry that investigates a contemporary phenomenon in depth and within its real-life context, especially when the boundaries between phenomenon and context are not clearly evident”. As Yin (1984) said, one should use a case study strategy because he or she deliberately wants to study contextual conditions. Therefore, the most important “value of case study method is its capacity to show what has happened in a given setting and how it happened” (Duminy et al, 2014:23). The case study method is useful for doing inquiries that seek to root the understanding of phenomena in the underlying players and in the context of the phenomena under study. This means that the notion of boundedness is essential in specifying a case study (Duminy et al, 2014:22).

Secondly, social phenomena are complex and this forces the researcher to require a high volume of data to uncover the interweaving issues. For such inquiries, the case method is required as it involves intensive analysis which is essential for uncovering and understanding complexity (Gummesson, 2007). Yin (2009:349) argues that “the distinctive need for case studies arises out of the desire to understand complex social phenomena”. Developing an understanding of complexity requires detailed knowledge which in turn demands intensive analysis (Duminy et al, 2014).

A good case study pays great attention to reality, and focuses on the details of events as they actually unfolded. Thus, a case study seeks to show what has happened in a given setting, and

how. Flyvbjerg (2011) describes a case study as a process of inquiry that is concerned with 'individual units.' Robert Stake (2006) says the case is a specific (Stake, 2005) or bounded system. Stake, notes that as a form of research, the case study method is defined by interest in an individual case and the depth, and that the object of study is a specific, unique, bounded system. According to Duminy et al (2014), the key aspect about the case study method is the process of drawing conceptual, spatial and temporal boundaries around a case unit and paying attention to what happens within the boundaries. What happens outside the case boundaries forms the case context, a thing considered very essential to case studies.

The third characteristic of case studies is that the method supports an interest in developmental players or changes occurring over a period of time. These changes constitute a case as whole (Flyvbjerg, 2011). This means the case study method is well positioned to analysing dynamic processes. As such, dominant literature indicates that the case study research method is most appropriate for answering questions of 'how' and 'why' - "how did this situation come about? How did the situation come to be this way? Why did this particular planning project fail to meet its objectives and expectations" (Duminy et al, 2014:23). Accordingly, the Kampala case study is designed as an explanatory research strategy because such a research design is able to engage with 'operational links' that have been traced over time (Yin, 2009). As such, case studies allow researchers to establish and analyse links between players and events over time. By starting with the how question, the researcher is likely to uncover the data for answering the 'why' question. "Good cases are written by hands patient for the truth" (Duminy et al 2014:24).

There is also a strong relationship between the case study method and theory development. Duminy et al (2014) describe a case study method as a detailed examination of an event (or series of related events) which the researcher believes exhibits or exhibit the operation of some identified general theoretical principles. Duminy et al (2014:24) argue that "case research is characterised by in-depth analysis of changes affecting a defined bounded unit, with an emphasis on explaining these changes in relation to their real-life context", and then relating the empirical material to theory. Key proponents of the case study method, such as Robert Yin and Bent Flyvbjerg argue that the researcher needs to relate theoretical and empirical materials as a basis for generating theory propositions. This makes the case study method relevant for the generation of concepts, ideas and principles needed to extend the frontiers of knowledge.

In the following section, this researcher explains Flyvbjerg's (2001; 2004) phronetic approach to planning research in relation to the case study method.

Flyvbjerg (2004: 283) calls for planning theorists to turn to "phronetic planning research" which sets out to answer questions of power and values for specific instances of planning practice. Flyvbjerg (2004:289) argues that the principal objective for planning research with a phronetic approach is to clarify values, interests, and power relations in planning as a basis for praxis. Flyvbjerg (2004:284-285) articulates:

Phronetic planning research is an approach to the study of planning based on a contemporary interpretation of the classical Greek concept *phronesis*, translated as practical wisdom, practical judgement, common sense, or prudence. *Phronesis* concerns values and goes beyond analytical, scientific knowledge (*episteme*) and technical knowledge or know how (*techne*) and it involves the art of judgement, that is to say decisions made in the manner of a virtuoso social actor. Prudence [*phronesis*] is not concerned with universals only; it must also take cognizance of particulars, because it is concerned with conduct, and conduct has its sphere in particular circumstances- the cases.

Phronesis focuses on what is variable, on that which cannot be encapsulated by universal rules. *Phronesis* requires an interaction between the general and the concrete; it requires deliberation, judgement, and choice, an understanding experience or lived realities, and the concrete instances of life. Flyvbjerg (2001; 2004) urges planning researchers to get as close to reality as possible; to emphasise 'little things;' to study cases and contexts; and to go beyond agency and structure. He argues that "the social sciences require research that 'deconstructs the conventional scientific ideal of the social sciences, with its emphasis on theory and context-independence'" (Flyvbjerg; 2011: 49). *Phronesis* allows researchers to undertake a clear, penetrating narrative or microanalysis using case the study method (Flyvbjerg, 2004: 299).

Watson (2003:396) cites Flyvbjerg (2001) to argue that planning research needs to return to the concrete, to the empirical and to case research. This turn in planning inquiry should not be seen as a "mindless return to empiricism, but as a way of gaining a better understanding of the nature of difference and conflict, and generating ideas and propositions" which can inform planning practice more adequately than much current planning theory and research. Difference, conflict, and power are so manifest and run so deep in many cities of the South that planners in such contexts cannot afford to just gloss over it by the universalising concepts often found in mainstream planning theory. *Phronesis* in planning emphasises contextualism and situational ethics. Planners make situated decisions that are shaped by their professional knowledge and

community experiences. The point of departure for any research that seeks to enhance planning thought must “benefit from focusing on case studies, precedents and exemplars, practical planning rationality and judgement” which evolve and operate primarily by virtue of in-depth case narratives (Flyvbjerg, 2004:298).

3.2.1 Limitations of the case study method

Despite many advantages, the case study approach has come in for criticism. Yin (1994) discusses different types of arguments against the case study research method. Case studies are often criticised as having a lack of rigour. Yin (1994:21) notes that “too many times, the case study investigator has been sloppy, and has allowed equivocal evidence or biased views to influence the direction of the findings and conclusions.” As such, the method is criticised for embodying a bias toward verification, understood as a tendency to confirm the researcher’s preconceived notions. Thus, the method is deemed to be of doubtful scientific value, as objectivity may not be guaranteed.

The other, and arguably most prominent critique of the single case study method concerns the issue of external validity or generalisability. Case studies have been criticized for lacking the grounds for generalisation (Stake, 1995; Yin, 1994). Generalisability refers to the degree to which research findings are applicable to other populations or samples (Bernard & Bernard, 2012). Generalising is sometimes equated with terms of ‘transferability’ and ‘external validity’ (Tashakkori & Teddlie, 2003). The concern lies in the limitation of the case study method to reliably offer anything beyond the particular as the method provides little basis for scientific generalisation (Yin, 1994). Given that certain definitions of theory hold that it is supposed to be universal and explain phenomena across borders, the method’s limitations in external validity remains inescapable. Ragin (1987) argues that case study approaches value understanding of complexity over generality. “In the case-oriented approaches ... it is clear that the goal of appreciating complexity is given precedence over the goal of achieving generality” (Ragin, 1987:45). To Ragin (1987) the case strategy is not able to cope with a number of cases sufficient to yield general results, but it can still give valuable insights. In the following paragraphs, I explain the measures for ensuring research validity.

3.2.2 Ensuring methodological validity: Generalisation based on case study findings

The view that one cannot generalise to a wider population on the basis of a single case is usually considered to be a limitation of the case study as a scientific method. However, according to Robert Yin (1994:10), it is acceptable in case research methodology that “case studies are can yield propositions” which can be useful in understanding phenomena in different

circumstances. Yin addresses the criticism that case studies “provide little basis for scientific generalisation” by stating that this is not their purpose and that “cases studies, like scientific experiments are generalizable to theoretical propositions and not to populations or universes” or statistics (2009:535).

The prepositions and concepts contribute to new planning theory ideas and generate new perspectives in theoretical debates. Thus, the value of the case research method is not in generalising to all other contexts but, rather, in achieving depth in studying the phenomena and generating concepts, ideas and principles that characterise a particular research phenomenon. In this thesis, insights from the case of co-production in Kampala (Uganda) contribute to theoretical understandings of co-production as a form of state-society engagement. This enhanced theoretical understanding can then be tested in other case studies and over time the theory of co-production could be refined and developed. This is not to suggest that at any point the research on co-production in Kampala could be applicable in all parts of the world and in very different contexts. Rather, insights from the case could develop as ‘meso-level’ theory which is useful in certain parts of the world. Flyvbjerg (2001; 2006) has indicated that case studies offer a sound basis for learning and taking action based on judgement rather than on the application of abstract universal rules. According to Duminy et al (2014:39), the value of the case study method lies in the “power of a good example as a source of theoretical development.” Accordingly, making the case generalisable is about ensuring that it is “relatable and transferable” to enable a process of experience-based learning (Duminy et al, 2014:23). With adequate understanding of context, the reader is able to transfer insights offered by the case.

3.2.3 Dealing with the tendency for a subjective bias

The case study has its own rigor, different to be sure, but no less strict than the rigor of other scientific methods. The advantage of the case study in this research project is that it can “close in on real-life situations and test views and theory directly” in relation to co-production engagements as they unfolded in practice (Flyvbjerg, 2006:235). According to Campbell (1975; Flyvbjerg, 1998; 2001; 2006), researchers who have conducted intensive, in-depth case studies typically report that their preconceived views, assumptions, concepts, and hypotheses were wrong and that the case material has compelled them to revise their hypotheses on essential points, leading to what is termed ‘falsification.’ The case study method reports on realities and is useful for testing ideas, principles and concepts based on what exists. As, such, the method is empirical enough as it is grounded in what actually happens and exists. From this

point of view, the proximity to reality, which the case study entails, and the learning process that it generates for the researcher will often constitute a prerequisite for advanced understanding. Flyvbjerg (2006: 236) emphasises:

The case study method contains no greater bias toward verification of the researcher's preconceived notions than other methods of inquiry. On the contrary, experience indicates that the case study contains a greater bias toward falsification of preconceived notions than toward verification.

The other way of ensuring factuality is by means of triangulating the data sources during the research process. Triangulation is a technique whereby two or more sources of data or methods are used as a way of 'cross-checking' the accuracy and reliability of findings (Duminy et al, 2014:36; Stake, 2006). The process of triangulation provides the foundation for analysis of the findings in order to reflect and write back to the theory, drawing on "the method of process tracing" is an important thread in case study research "to test existing hypotheses and justify new ones" (George & Bennett, 2005: 7). Triangulation to control bias and establish the validity of propositions and findings is an essential component of the research design and data collection process.

Duminy et al (2014) argue that case researchers deal with complex data sets involving context, narratives and ambiguities, and nuanced interpretations. To ensure factuality in the data and interpretations, this requires triangulation techniques (Stake, 2013). Triangulation allows for a process of 'pattern matching' between the framing theory and the empirical observations and analysis of the case. The case study method demands the researcher to collect and store multiple sources of evidence in a comprehensive and systematic way so that converging lines of inquiry, contradictions, themes and patterns could be uncovered (Fox-Wolfgramm, 1997). By drawing on multiple sources of evidence, and incorporating converging lines of enquiry, the processes of triangulation and corroboration (Yin, 2009) guarantees factuality and internal reliability in the case method. In the research process in Kampala, I constantly reflected on the various views, viewpoints and observations, thereby allowing a reflexive process of knowledge generation that went beyond the documentation.

To ensure that views were cross-checked, the interviews involved research participants from many community groups, non-government organisation, officials from national and local governments, community mobilisers and leaders, ordinary residents and leaders at local level. This combination of research participants allowed for views to be checked from various

perspectives, pattern matching, identification of conflicting nuances and conflict pointers. All the views were given equal prominence and scrutiny. Similar questions were asked to different research participants and this enabled gap identification and further inquiries on issues that needed additional understanding.

The other way of triangulating the sources of data involved active use of observations. The interviewer used observations to interpret intonations, pitches and pauses to aid in making meaning of what the respondents were trying to communicate using non-verbal language. Furthermore, views were subjected to what was contained in the Partnership reports, project documents, Memorandum of Understanding, physical infrastructure, newspapers, social media, and actual businesses that were created by the Partnership in the areas studied. Finally, additional triangulation of the data involved scrutiny of the transcribed material by selected research participants. The interview transcripts were reviewed by key respondents in government, Slum Dwellers International in Cape Town, ACTogether and Federation leaders who provided additional comments on the data. This was done with the first set of interview transcripts. For the second set of interviews, aspects that seemed unclear were subjected to more scrutiny through follow-up phone interviews and through email exchanges with representatives from ACTogether and government agencies.

As Duminy et al (2014:36) argue, these feedback processes and procedures are particularly useful to ensure factuality, given that many aspects of research were on especially conflictual issues like the dismissal of the Country Director of ACTogether (see chapter five) and transparency concerns by the national government on the operations of the NGO, were “not always documented” in the official reports and websites. The following paragraphs discuss the case narrative as another way of achieving validity in the case method approach.

3.2.4 The dense case study- The case as a virtual reality

Case studies often contain a substantial element of narrative. Good narratives typically approach the complexities and contradictions of real life. Such narratives may be difficult or even impossible to summarize into neat scientific formulae, general propositions, and theories (Flyvbjerg, 2006). This tends to be seen as a drawback by critics of the case study. While strengthening the case study, this large amount of work and detailed processes and procedures enabled this study to present the reality of events and processes of co-production in Kampala (Smith, 1987).

Narratives in this case focused on in-depth analysis of particular events and activities that made up the case and on the minutiae that made up the co-production events. Working with the minutiae, doing interviews, making observations, talking with my informants, writing, and getting feedback provided rich insights about the Kampala case. The rich case material was found to be in the dense nature of the inquiry. The researcher particularly wanted the Kampala case study to be dense because I wanted to study the ever-present force of power and conflicts in state-society relations. Conflicts, power dynamics, policy contradictions and action on the ground were only able to be uncovered in the most minute and most concrete of details of the co-production activities. (Rorty, 1985:173) has observed that “the way to re-enchant the world is to stick to the concrete and provide rich narratives”. Nietzsche (1969) similarly advocated a focus on “little things” to generate narratives that cannot be questioned. Peattie (2001:260) explicitly warned against summarizing dense case studies:

“It is simply that the very value of the case study, the contextual and interpenetrating nature of forces, is lost when one tries to sum up in large and mutually exclusive concepts.” The dense case study is more useful for the practitioner and more interesting for social theory than the high-level generalisations of theory. The case story is itself the result. It is a ‘virtual reality.’

3.3 Case types and their relevance to theory

There are different case types, with each having a unique set of characteristics and which can be used to fulfil a particular purpose. One possible way of recasting and understanding the relation between the case study and a research problem and the process of case selection is through the ‘good patient metaphor’ (Duminy et al, 2014:26). A particular real-world problem affecting society could be imagined as an ‘illness’ that needs to be cured. A ‘good patient’ presents an illness that provides a challenge to medical practitioners. Thus, a good case offers both a challenge and an opportunity to generate knowledge about the causes, modalities or outcomes of a real-world problem that extends beyond the immediate boundaries of the case (Duminy et al, 2014: 27). Before this researcher chose Kampala, he carefully examined the characteristics of the patient (case study) and the problematic phenomenon manifested by the case, associated with a particular gap in knowledge. Flyvbjerg (2001) identifies different cases which can be designed to achieve different research goals, as detailed in the following paragraphs.

The selection of typical or average or representative cases is intended to help the researcher to study a standard or typical example of a wider category of samples. However, if the objective of the study is to acquire a great deal of information about a particular problem, then typical

cases are not the most appropriate. The second type of cases is called “atypical or unique cases that tend to activate more players and more mechanisms in the situation studied” (Flyvbjerg, 2001:78). When the objective is to achieve the greatest possible amount of information on a given problem or phenomenon, then unique cases often reveal more information and are most appropriate. This category of cases is appropriate for deeper insightful studies that seek to generate more and nuanced knowledge about a case and its environment. The third type of a case is the critical case. Such a case is chosen because it bears some degree of strategic importance in relation to the general problem being investigated (Flyvbjerg, 2001:78). This type of a case is useful for falsifying propositions (Flyvbjerg, 2001). A critical case is one which tests a well-formulated theory: it can be used “...to determine whether a theory’s propositions are correct or whether some alternative set of recommendations might be relevant” (Yin 2009, 1201). This type of case is similar to paradigmatic cases. “Paradigmatic cases have a metaphorical and prototypical value which if well-presented can be useful for understanding very complex intersection of discourses, actions and context in the real-world” (Duminy et al, 2014:30; Flyvbjerg, 2001). The purpose is to generate a metaphor or school of thought that rebuts an established theory or argument. Paradigmatic cases are those which are chosen “to develop a metaphor or establish a school for the domain which the case depicts”, and they often embody a memorable motif – a theoretical signifier (Flyvbjerg, 2001).

This dissertation regards the case of Kampala as a unique case. I needed a case that would generate the maximum amount of information on a co-production process, which is a concept still relatively under-studied and under-theorised. Kampala is rich in information and offered high potential for learning. The researcher chose it because co-production had gone further towards implementation than elsewhere in Sub-Saharan Africa. There may be cases where it has gone further in East Asia but the writer wanted to confine his ideas on co-production to Sub-Saharan Africa so as to expand this theory of state-society engagement at the meso-scale of this continent.

3.4 Selection of the case study area: Understanding case relevance for theory

This section explains why the researcher chose Kampala in Uganda for this case study area. Despite having a working relationship with the SDI alliance in Zambia, I maintained the independence during the research process. Further, I informed ACTogether and the NSDFU about the purpose of the research. Thus, the choice of the case, research participants and data analysis remained uninfluenced by my close relationship with the SDI work in Zambia. As explained earlier, there is a relationship between the choice of the case and its value for

generalising to theory. Thus, a decision was made on which case to choose, and the researcher had to read widely to determine the most relevant case to advance the conceptual ideas presented in chapter two. As such, prior to the presentation of the proposal and undertaking field research, a thorough literature review on co-production was done to determine an advanced co-production case that would provide the researcher with materials for analysis. The researcher reviewed reports and academic publications on co-production initiatives across the global South. Most of the cases, especially in Sub-Saharan Africa, were found to be rich in engagements and negotiations but did not show a steady progression in setting up, through to negotiation and actual implementation of initiatives to achieve change in service delivery and institutions. The choice of Kampala was motivated by the fact that the National Slum Dwellers Federation of Uganda (NSDFU) working with a number of Alliance members has a wide scope of activities and has achieved prominence in terms of partnership with government and use of far reaching tools for participatory planning and service delivery. A review of initiatives that have been occurring in Kampala since 2002 indicated that co-production engagements focused on settlement upgrading which ultimately has led to the physical and socio-economic transformation in many informal settlements of Kampala. Settlement transformation is based on observable new infrastructure in water and sanitation, roads and drainage, shelter for community meetings and emergence of MDF structures and meetings. This engagement with literature on various co-production cases in the South was useful in assisting me clarify the research problem and research questions and design the case study. This was useful in advancing the conceptual framework and in the identification of subsidiary research questions. Based on the above analysis, the Kampala case is a very progressive and established case of co-production in the global South. The Kampala case was chosen on the basis of its depth in information and for displaying features of a unique case of co-production in Sub-Saharan Africa.

3.4.1 Selection of sub-cases and units of analysis

The three sub-cases have been chosen to represent the Kampala case. The cases are not entirely independent of each other, but rather, each case provides nuanced element(s) that have been studied to address the research questions. In each of the five divisions of the City of Kampala, the partners have been pursuing a city-wide partnership and pro-poor urban development agenda that begins at the settlement-level. Critical to this agenda is the Federation's partnership with local and national government agencies. This study reviewed the locations for most key initiatives in Kampala in order to select a sample of three sub-cases that would best depict a

range of actual co-production processes and outcomes in Kampala. It should be noted that besides SDI-led efforts to co-produce planning in Kampala, there are no other documented grassroots initiatives to create planning partnership-based and people led planning in the City. From a list of 61 informal settlements, the researcher selected Kinawataka and Mbuya settlement (Mbuya is part of the Kinawataka county) sites in the Nakawa division sub-case, Kisenyi I, II and III settlement sites in the Kampala Central division sub-case and Bwaise (Kalimali and the surrounding areas) settlement sites in the Kawempe division sub-case (see the Kampala case, Units of analysis in figure 3.1, the Nakawa division sub-case in 3.2, Kampala Central division sub-case in figure 3.3 and 3.4, and Kawempe division sub-case in figure 3.5). All the three cases had unique characteristics that merited their selection. The information from three sub-cases was integrated to come up with dense narratives that enabled the researcher to identify both common and contrasting themes, concepts, tension points, and principles that characterise co-production activities in Kampala.

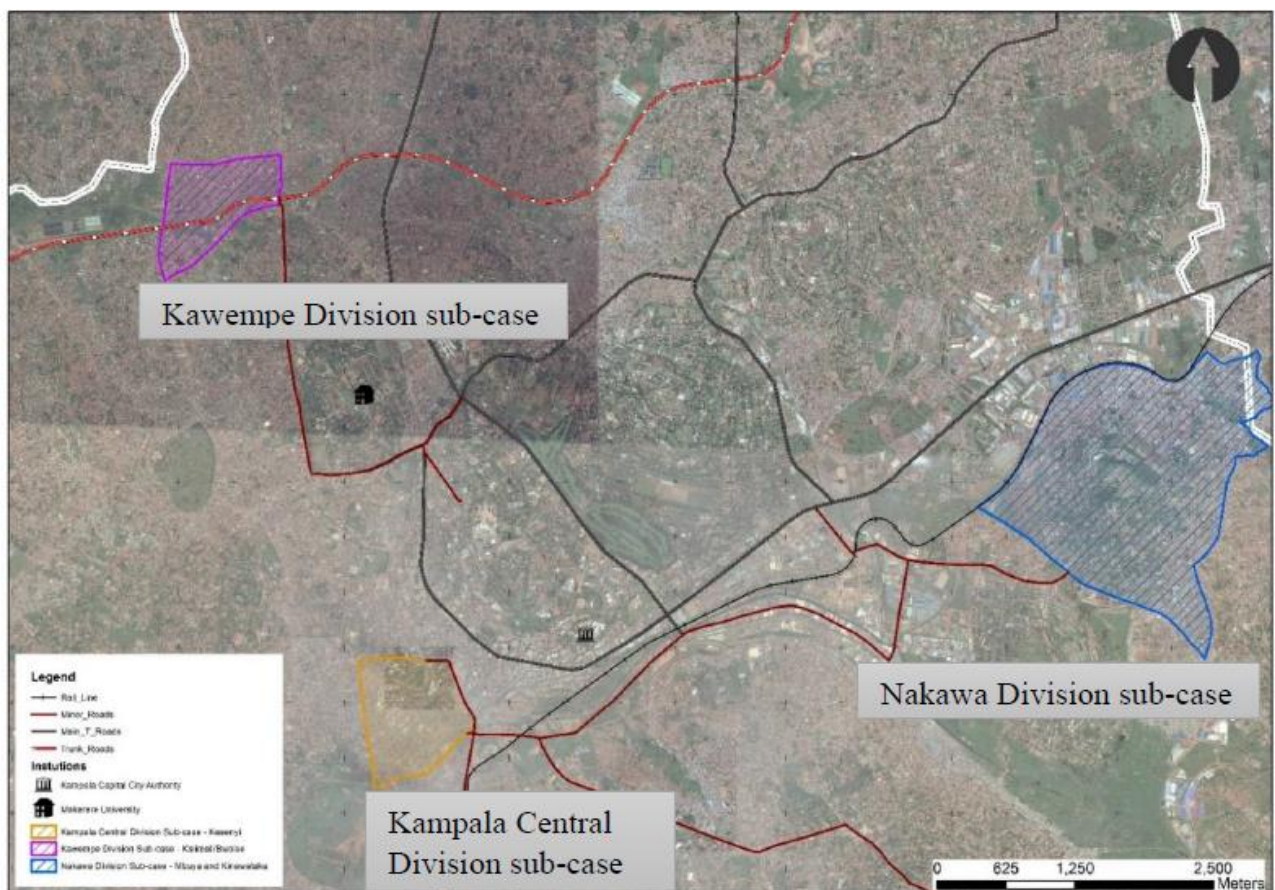


Figure 3.1. The Kampala case, Units of analysis
Fieldwork, 2016

3.4.2 Nakawa division sub-case: Embodying community diversity and clientelistic relations

In the Nakawa division, there are approximately 222,900 people in informal settlements, and Kinawataka is one of the largest, with a population of some 80,000. See Figure 3.2. The settlement is approximately 150 acres in extent and is located close to the main railway line. It is plagued by inadequate housing, rampant crime and high unemployment. Most residents seek out a living in trading in the informal market and other informal spaces. For more than 20 years, Kinawataka market (located off the Kampala-Jinja highway) has served the local communities of Mbuya, Kinawataka, and Banda. The market has been recognised as the arrival point of fresh produce from Eastern Uganda. “The market contains over 100 small business premises, ranging from permanent lock-ups (made of brick and iron sheets), to temporary stalls made of wood and iron sheets or tarpaulin” (Dobson, Muhammed, & Mugisa, 2014:22).

In partnership with the Ministry of Lands, Housing and Urban Development, KCCA, and universities, ACTogether and the NSDFU have spearheaded the development of plans to upgrade the Kinawataka settlement by prioritizing water and sanitation initiatives, market redevelopment and improve people’s incomes. The project was designed to upgrade the market in-situ and improve the livelihoods of the present vendors. It proved to be an alternative to eviction, through organising the urban poor and partnering with local and national government to plan and execute the upgrading processes. The case was chosen because of its usefulness to allow for a nuanced analysis of community diversity, and clientelistic relations between state and community groups during co-production. This sub-case demonstrated the role of community and national politics, land related misunderstandings, and community financing dynamics and the influence these aspects on the co-production engagements in the area. This sub-case is important for theorising power and conflicting interests in co-production engagements.

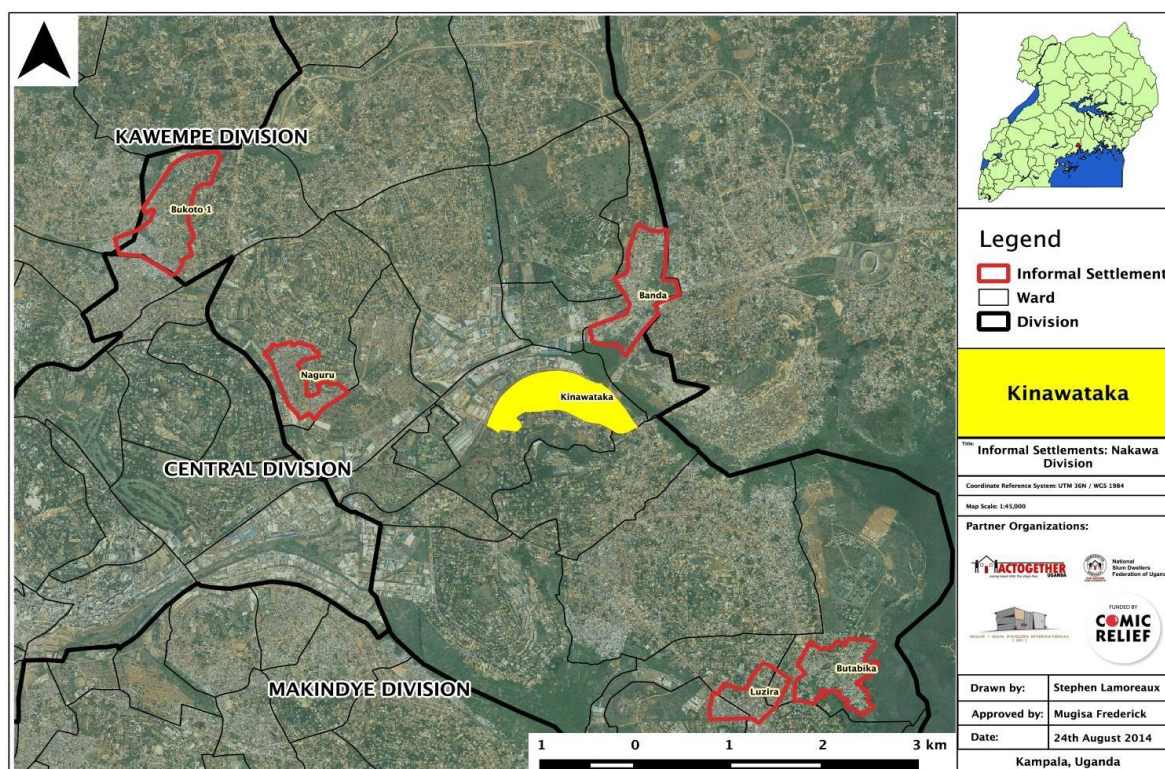


Figure 3.2. The Nakawa division sub-case (Kinawataka settlement) - Unit of analysis 1¹²

3.4.3 Kampala Central division sub-case: depiction of intra-organisation tensions points

There are approximately 49,780 people in the informal settlements of Kampala Central division. Kisenyi is part of the Kampala Central division - one of the city's five divisions and has over 50% of the population in informal settlements in the division. Kisenyi I was founded in 1986. It is located near Blue Room, Muzaana and Nabagereka Primary Schools. Kisenyi sits on prime real estate land and spans a large area as Kisenyi I, II and III. For this reason, the informal settlement faces tremendous market pressure and is consequently gentrifying at an alarming rate for the urban poor. As small parcels of the slum are bought out and re-developed, the residents, many of whom are the reason for the CBD's vibrant informal economy, are being pushed out. In view of the intricate, and, indeed, direct relationship between the location of Kisenyi and the livelihoods of its residents, the partners jointly chose the settlement as the first site for co-production engagements in 2002. The aim was to achieve an in-situ solution and protect the rights of the urban poor. Following enumerations in 2003 to 2004, National Slum Dwellers Federation of Uganda (NSDFU) entered an agreement with the Kampala City Council to pool funds to communal services. As a result of this agreement, a community sanitation and meeting facility was constructed to increase sanitation services in this desperately underserved

¹² <http://askyourgov.ug/request/37/response/37/attach/html/4/Nakawa%20Municipality.pdf.html>, 20/10/16

community and also provide an income stream for Federation members. Kisenyi was selected for this study to allow the researcher to understand the history and development of co-production in Kampala, intra-organisation (Federation-ACTogether) relationship tension and growth points, and the role of early exchange programmes on the growth of the partnership between the state and the Federation. Figure 3.3 (not drawn to scale) shows the detailed context of Kisenyi site projects.

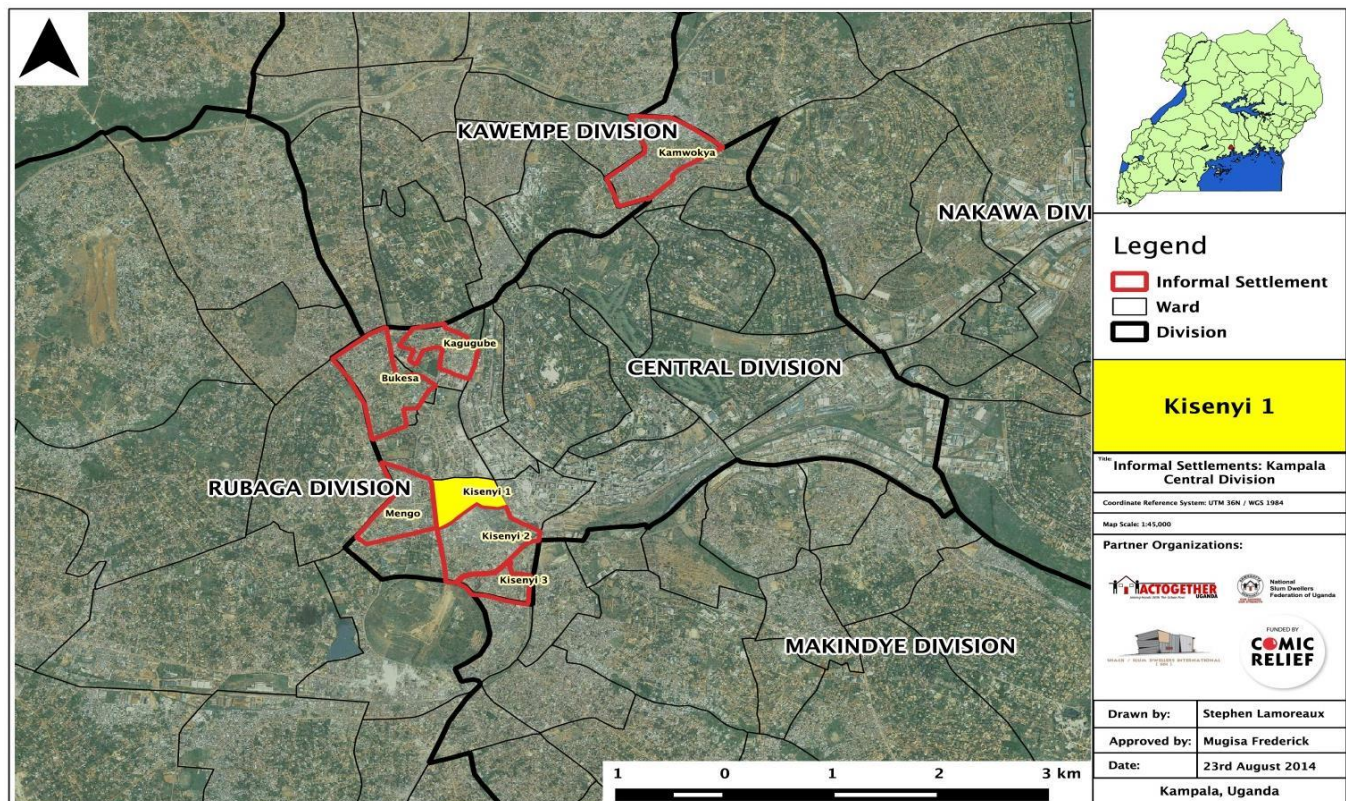


Figure: 3.3. Kampala Central division sub-case (Kisenyi settlement), unit of analysis 2¹³

¹³ <http://askyourgov.ug/request/37/response/35/attach/2/Kampala%20Central%20SLUM%20PROFILING.pdf>



Figure: 3.4. Kisenyi Settlement, unit of analysis 2

3.4.4 The Kawempe division sub-case: role of special groups and embedded reflective learning

The Kawempe division is home to Makerere University. In this division, co-production has advanced to tangible outcomes and improvements in service delivery in the informal settlement of Bwaise III (see figures 3.1 and 3.5). The land area of Bwaise III is approximately 129 acres of land with a total population of approximately 35,000 people and 7,000 households. In the past, there have been two eviction threats on the residents of Bwaise III and currently, there is a high-level eviction threat. The communal water and sanitation facility is built in Bwaise III, but was accessible to people in Bwaise I, II and III and the surrounding areas. This sub-case is unique in that it is ripe with incidences of women playing a special role to salvage and restart disintegrated savings groups that suffered from corruption, mismanagement and thefts of group funds and group resources. The sub-case also shows the significance of reflective learning in sustaining co-production as an evolving knowledge based process. The case served as a learning centre to transform the way some of the co-production practices are implemented. For example, ACTogether and the Federation had to bend its rules pertaining to no judicial

remedies for erring members by taking some of its members to court to recover the group funds and regain the respect and confidence of the alliance. Having presented the cases, the following section explains the methods of data collection and selection process of the research participants.

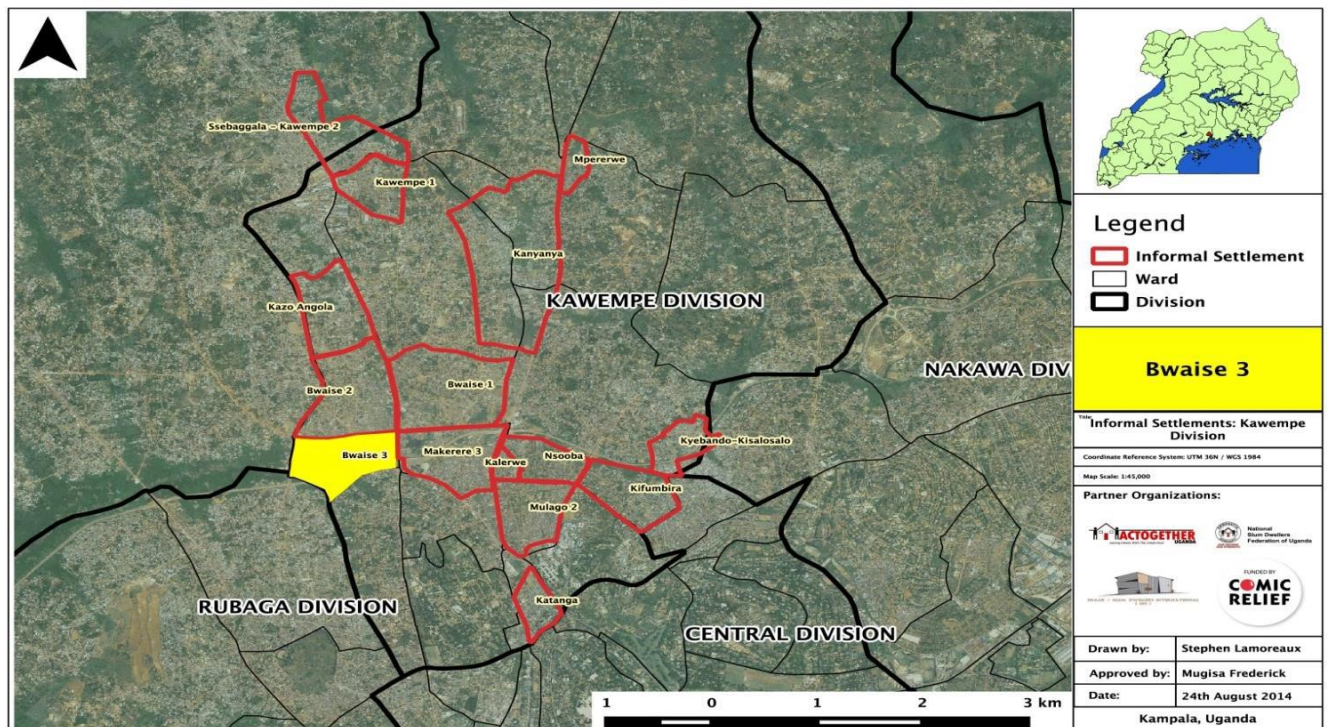


Figure 3.5: Kawempe division sub-case (Bwaise settlement), unit of analysis 3¹⁴

3.5 Sources of primary information

It is important to note here that qualitative research requires robust data collection techniques and the documentation of the research procedure. Detailed information about how the study was designed and conducted should be provided in the research report (Morris, 2015). Primary data and information was collected using three research techniques namely: in-depth semi-structured interviews, observations and documents analysis. In this section, I explain these three methods and show how I made use of each of them to collect the information and data for my research.

3.5.1 In-depth semi-structured interviews: The strengths

Interviews as a systematic way of talking and listening to people are a way to collect data from individuals through conversations (Kajornboon, 2006). Kvale (1996) describes interviews as an interchange of experiences between people on a topic of mutual interest with the centrality

¹⁴ <http://askyourgov.ug/request/37/response/37/attach/2/Kawempe%20Municipality.pdf>

of human interaction for knowledge production and emphasises the situatedness of the research process. In-depth semi-structured interviewing means that the interviewer has topics that they want to cover that are related to their research questions, but there is plenty of scope for digression. Semi-structured interviews are a non-standardised tool for data collection in qualitative research. The semi-structured interview also gives the interviewer the space to seek clarity as to what the interviewee actually means and why they gave a particular answer. There is thus scope for a detailed discussion.

“The personal interview is penetrating; it goes to the ‘living source’ (Platt, 2001:36). The interviewer can secure accounts of events and processes as they are reflected in personal experiences and in social attitudes (Morris, 2015). In essence, it involves a researcher asking questions and following up on the responses of the interviewee in an endeavour to extract as much information as possible from a person (the interviewee) who has expertise or practical experience on the topic/s the interviewer is interested in. The process of in-depth interview produces what Kvale & Brinkmann (2009) have called ‘interview knowledge’. Interviewees are able to express themselves in any way they desire. A research interview “involves probing by asking interviewees to elaborate or explain answers, particularly those deemed unclear” (Morris, 2015:3). Morris (2015:5) argues that the in-depth interview “gives the researcher access to interviewees’ thoughts, reflections, motives, experiences, memories, understandings, interpretations and perceptions of the topic under consideration.” Through interviews, the researcher is able to dig deeper in the spoken and unspoken aspects of a research issue. The stories of interviewees are ‘a way of knowing’ what really shapes and assists the researcher to construct reality (Seidman, 2013:7).

3.6 Selection of research participants and interview processes

In-depth interviews based on categorised semi-structured questions were done based on the research themes, issues and questions (see interview questions in appendix 1). Primary information was collected in Kampala during three fieldwork sessions that took place in two major phases: the first field visit was meant to acquire preliminary information and knowledge about co-production activities in Kampala and this trip took place in September 2014 and lasted for 12 days. During this visit, most documents about co-production in Kampala were collected and all candidate sub-cases and research participants were visited as part of the familiarisation process. The second visit took place from September to end of October 2015 and lasted for a period of 30 days. During the first week of the second visit, a list of individual and group research participants was discussed and submitted to the research assistant who was working

at ACTogether. The final list of research participants was based on those individuals who had information and knowledge about co-production activities in Uganda and Kampala. This second visit was used to collect primary information from all categories of the research participants (see table 1). Much of the audio recordings for this phase were transcribed (by the writer) in the months between October 2015 and January 2016. The third visit took place from January to mid-February 2016. The third visit was used to continue with the process of primary data/information collection and to cross-check/validate the transcribed interviews. It was easier for the researcher to establish contacts with the SDI Alliance in Kampala because he was involved with a sister alliance in Zambia and had worked before with the South African Alliance in South Africa during his Masters Research Project. In fact, an introductory email about him and the PhD project was first communicated to the Executive Director of ACTogether by the Country Coordinator of Zambia's People's Process on Housing and Poverty in Zambia. He was a familiar person and the NGO had no reservations in trusting him with their data and access to partners.

As shown in table 1 and appendix 2, a total of 111 research participants were purposively selected and interviewed during the entire fieldwork period. This list had representation from government at all levels (Local Council One, Kampala Capital Authority and Ministry of Lands, Housing and Urban Development (MLHUD)), National Slum Dwellers Federation of Uganda (NSDFU) devolved groups in the sub-cases and national leadership, NGOs- ACTogether, and Settlement and Shelter Alternatives (SSA), local civic leaders in the three sub-cases, local and divisional councils and community members. These research participants (institutions) were selected on the basis that they had interest, information, experience and knowledge of co-production engagements in Kampala. The following table summarises the total number of research participants per category.

Category (all cases)- Kampala	Number of participants
National Slum Dwellers Federation of Uganda (NSDFU) devolved groups	64
Local Council 1 (LC 1) leaders	6
Division technical staff (KCCA)	6
KCCA Head Quarters - Gender, Production & Marketing	2
KCCA Head Quarters- Urban Planning	1
National Water & Sewerage Corporation	1
Ministry of Lands, Housing, & Urban Development (MLHUD)- Urban Development	3
MLHUD- Senior Sociologist	1

MLHUD- Housing	1
MLHUD- Communication Technologist	1
MLHUD- Lands Registry/Commission	1
ACTogether- All departments	8
Settlement & Shelter Alternatives (SSA)	1
Political leaders	2
NSDFU- National leaders	8
NSDFU- Youth groups	3
Division Town Clerks	2
Total	111

Table 1: Categorisation of interviewees, Field work, 2015 & 2017

3.6.1 Identification of research participants- Interviewees

In order to select research participants, the researcher spent some time reading the documents on co-production in Kampala. The recruitment of ‘elites’, people in powerful positions, requires a formal approach (Morris, 2015). Morris (2015:57) advises, “...in many instances there are key contacts” or ‘champions’ or gate keepers who you need to contact...”. These gatekeepers can play a key role in facilitating access to research participants and it is important that the researcher develops a working relationship with them and that they endorse the research. Like Morris (2015) suggests, this researcher’s first point of contact was through email to the Director of ACTogether. ACTogether is local non-governmental organisation that works with the National Slum Dwellers Federation of Uganda (NSDFU) to promote and implement co-production activities in Uganda. The Director assigned the following departmental heads: Water and sanitation; Profiling, Enumeration, Mapping; Savings and Livelihoods, Design (Engineer); and Administration and Documentation. After meeting the heads of Departments, the Head of the ACTogether Water and Sanitation Department was recommended by the group to be the researcher’s official research assistant in Kampala. Then, based on review of documents process, the researcher identified and listed all the relevant stakeholders and specific officers (positions) as participants in the interview process. The list of all organisations and officers he had identified was discussed with the research assistant who later added other names, especially at community level, in the three sub-cases (see table 1). The research assistant endorsed the list of community groups that the researcher had independently proposed for interviews (based on preliminary literature review and a preliminary visit in 2014), thus, there was no possibility for systematic bias. For all research participants working for ACTogether, the researcher made the appointments in person and they were the first to be interviewed. Having attended one weekly meeting for the Federation, he talked to all the national leaders of the Federation and managed to secure appointments for interviews.

Similarly, he independently identified organisations and positions for technical officials in government and civil society. Specific appointments and official introductions in KCCA, Central government departments, Settlement and Shelter Alternatives (NGO), were done by the research assistant through physical meetings, phone calls and email exchanges. Morris (2015) argues that in recruiting research participants, the research needs to be supported by somebody who the participants are familiar with, thus issues of trust will be easy to establish. The research assistant and the researcher generated a list of phone numbers and email addresses which he used to follow-up on appointments preceding interviews. The research assistant moved with him everywhere during the interviews and introduced him to the interviewees (see list in table 1). However, after the introductions, the research assistant would leave the interview room to ensure the interviewee spoke freely and openly. On average, each interview lasted for 1 hour and forty-five minutes. For community residents and members of savings groups, the researcher was first introduced by the research assistant to them. Then he got their phone numbers which the research assistant and himself used to secure specific appointments for interviews. In each community sub-case, two groups were identified and their members interviewed. One group presented very successful co-production at local level while the other was chosen based on prevalence of challenges such as theft of funds, low savings and limited Federating activities. In each group, leaders and ordinary members of the groups were identified. He interviewed at least 12 research participants per group, who included the following as minimum representation: group chairman, secretary, treasurer, mobilisation chair, youth representative, projects officer, at least 2 ordinary members, 1 group founder member, chair of savings and livelihoods, leader of project management and Local Council 1 leadership. This selection process was repeated in all the three sub-cases.

3.6.2 Document analysis as a method of data/ information collection

As a research method, document analysis is particularly applicable to qualitative case studies-intensive studies producing rich descriptions of a single phenomenon, event, organisation, or program (Stake, 1995; Yin, 1994). Non-technical literature, such as meeting minutes, reports and internal correspondence, is a potential source of empirical data for case studies; for example, data on the context within which the participant operates (Bowen, 2009). Atkinson & Coffey (1997:47) refer to documents as “social facts, which are produced, shared, and used in socially organised ways.” Document analysis yields data- excerpts, quotations, or entire passages-that are then organised into major themes, categories, and case examples specifically through content analysis (Labuschagne). Furthermore, as Merriam (1988:118) points out,

“documents of all types can help the researcher uncover meaning, develop understanding, and discover insights relevant to the research problem”. Document analysis is a systematic procedure for reviewing documents –printed, electronic and internet-transmitted material (Glenn, 2009).

For Kampala, the researcher reviewed many documents which included among others, Memorandum of Understanding between the NSDFU and Kampala Capital City Authority (KCCA), project documents authored by NSDFU, the National Slum Upgrading Policy, Draft Urban Policy, annual reports on the Federation and ACTogether. The researcher also managed to convince a key contact in the Ministry to give him the Forums Charter (still a confidential government document), which the Federation had not officially been given. The documents (see list in the appendix 3) were a source of secondary data such as budget allocations and compositions for community development. The review of KCCA documents such as the master plan provided insights on why eviction has continued to be a ‘thorny’ issue in Kampala. These documents provided pointers during proposal formulation and fieldwork, and were used to test the factuality of the data collected through interviews and observations. Having achieved reliable contacts with the Ministry officials (Senior Sociologist), the access to these documents was easy. Furthermore, many documents were also available online.

3.6.3 Observations

Kawulich (2005:2) describes observation as "the systematic description of events, behaviours, and artefacts in the social setting chosen for study". Observations enable the researcher to describe existing situations using the five senses, providing a ‘written photograph’ of the situation under study. Similarly, fieldwork in Kampala involved "active looking, improving memory, informal interviewing, writing detailed field notes, and perhaps most importantly, patience" (Dewalt & Dewalt, 2002: vii). Observation methods provide researchers with ways to check for non-verbal expression of feelings, determine who interacts with whom, grasp how participants communicate their knowledge, and check for how much time is spent on each of the questions. Observation allows researchers to check definitions of terms that participants use in interviews, observe events that informants may be unable or unwilling to share when doing so would be “impolitic, impolite, or insensitive, and observe situations informants have described in interviews, thereby making them aware of distortions or inaccuracies in description provided by those informants” (Marshall & Rossman, 1995:8).

Observations were made during interviews, meetings and during field trip movements and tours in Kampala. During interviews, observations included taking note of ‘moves and actions.’ In

relation to the audio recordings, the researcher documented in the field journal pauses, ‘stammering’, pitches, hesitations, excitements, facial expressions and other body moves. During community and city tours, he documented physical infrastructure, community activities and the general environmental conditions in relation to the interviews. He also took a lot of photographs using his phone. These actions led to primary data enhancement through pictorial recordings and visual expressions and this assisted him in interpreting the recordings.

3.7 Data collection and analysis- the procedures

The interview processes were supplemented by observations and information obtained from the documents and this facilitated interpretation of ‘actions and voices’ during conversations, and this served as a form of triangulation. This allowed the researcher to seek or make clarification and take notes in the research journal to facilitate informative interview process and interpretation. A few research participants spoke in the local language (Luganda of the Baganda people), and in such cases, the research assistant acted as a translator, with both original and translated ‘voices’ being recorded. The technique was used as a source of stories and context analysis to enable comprehensive information and data generation. In this way, the technique became a platform for reality-construction and meaning making occasions during the interview process. Such applications of the technique resonates with Roulston, deMarrais, & Lewis (2003) description of interviews as a site where interviewees and interviewers construct data for a research project. To conclude the fieldwork, the researcher compared the research questions and the data I had generated. This was done with reference to the concept of data saturation which Morris (2015:64) cites Glaser & Strauss (1967) to mean “situations where additional interviews do not yield any additional data or themes” needed to address the research questions. Data saturation was reached in this study when the researcher reached a point where there was a repetition of themes, ideas, views and no new data and information were emerging. Following the arguments by Guest, Bunce, & Johnson (2006), the number of interviewees was large (see table 1) and the interviews took a lot of time –for example, he took 2 hours and 5 minutes talking to the Deputy Director- Directorate of Planning at KCCA, and 2 hours and 30 minutes talking to the Chairman of Kisenyi I Federation group. This was so because the research questions generated many themes and issues. This meant that cross-checking and achieving factuality needed a large volume of data and information. In this instance, the breadth of evidence, the thematic saturation of the data and the multiplicity of sources available for cross-checking the key elements became sufficient to permit the closure of the interview programme.

All the interviews were recorded using a digital recorder and the researcher transcribed all of them for deeper analysis. The first set of recordings (first round fieldwork) were later discussed by organised groups in the three cases and by a selected number of research participants. This served as a reality checking process, and pointed to areas and themes for further primary research. The transcribed materials were categorised according to themes, principles, ideas, research objectives and research questions. Experiences and views from key informants like the Ministry officials, KCCA and ACTogether were compared with stories and narratives shared by organised community groups, NSDFU members and leaders at all levels.

Each written transcript was read by me several times to ensure accuracy and to achieve a better overall understanding of each participant's experiences and narratives. As recommended by Leech and Onwuegbuzie (2007), the process of transcribing and listening guided the researcher in uncovering the thematic aspects of the research findings. Later, the analysis of the transcribed data and derived themes and concepts involved selective reading where the text was read several times and statements that appeared to be revealing the subject and aspect under inquiry was underlined. Next, he selected the highlighted themes, phrases and sentences and related such statements to the context and the field notes so as to capture as fully as possible the meaning of the narratives. Following the initial readings and preliminary identification of themes in each of the interviews, he compared the themes in each interview, while looking for commonalities and tension points, in order to identify the overall themes that would best describe the experiences of the research participants in co-production. With the themes identified, as indicated by Juliet and Strauss (1990), he then began the process of writing the themes and explaining their relationship and differences based on the three sub-cases and in relation to the research questions. This organised material was later used to do a detailed analysis to write a findings chapter. Checking of validity continued as issues which seemed unclear but important to be part of the findings chapter were later cross-checked by doing additional telephonic and electronic interviews with selected participants.

3.8 Ethical considerations during the interview and analysis processes

In conducting interviews, ethical issues such as confidentiality were given due consideration. Before interviews, full explanation of the purpose of the research was made so that the respondent could make an informed decision to share the lived experiences. Informed consent was sought from the respondents so that the research is done according to the etiquettes demanded by the fundamentals of good research (Kajornboon, 2006). Before interviews, all research participants were requested to sign the University of Cape Town ethics forms (see

appendix 4) to either allow use of their identities or to request the researcher to anonymise the data and information. Furthermore, any material promises and reciprocity behaviours were avoided so as to achieve objectivity during the interview process.

3.9 Conclusion

This chapter has explained the methodology applied in this research. It discussed the case research method and its application in this research. Further, the chapter has argued that the case method has its own strengths that make it appropriate for undertaking this study. In addition, the chapter has outlined sources of data, data collection and analysis procedures that the researcher applied in the research. The validity of the study and the methodology processes have been achieved by implementing a number of quality control measures such as triangulation and presenting the Kampala case as virtual reality. Having presented the research methodology, the following chapter analyses the context and planning environment of Kampala from pre-colonial times to current legal and institutional provisions.

CHAPTER 4

KAMPALA: THE URBAN ENVIRONMENT AND THE PLANNING CONTEXT

4.1. Introduction

This chapter reviews laws, policies, development plans and academic literature on Uganda in general and Kampala in particular to determine the environment and policy contexts guiding and influencing urban planning and state-society relations in the Kampala. The purpose of this chapter is to set the policy background for the co-production initiative described in chapter five. The chapter seeks to provide the institutional, political and social background underlying the urban development processes in Kampala. Further, this chapter provides a contextual framework for a detailed interpretation of the findings in chapter six. Finally, the chapter provides a basis for deeper analysis contained in chapter seven which determines the theoretical relevance of the findings.

This chapter has four main sections, which are structured by a number of sub-subsections. With the introduction presented in section one, the second section details the periodisation of planning in Kampala. In the third, fourth and fifth sections, the researcher analyses socio-economic, land tenure and institutional contexts that have shaped planning and state-society relations in the postcolonial context of Uganda. The chapter ends with section five where he has presented final reflections on the chapter and also introduced the purpose of chapter five. He now moves on to the next section to analyse urban planning in Kampala during the colonial period.

4.2 Periodisation of planning in Uganda and Kampala

This section discusses planning shifts in Uganda in general and Kampala in particular. The purpose of this section is to detail how various planning laws and regulations for Kampala have shaped the urbanisation processes and urban development in Kampala. There are two main periods, the colonial period (1903-1962) and the post-colonial period. Planning in the colonial period had four distinct periods: the postcolonial period from 1962 is explained as one period. The analysis of planning in the colonial period shows that today's planning in Africa and Uganda has continued to be affected by the colonial 'hangover' of the profession (Bradford, 2011). "Based on the UK's 1947 Town and Country Planning Act...the master plans for many African cities were drawn up at a time when current urban population growth rates and poverty levels were not anticipated" (Watson & Agbola, 2013:3). The ideals in British Town and Country Planning Acts imposed modernist planning ideas on African towns, especially capital

cities. In Uganda and Kampala in particular, planning in the colonial era happened in three main epochs, the first period dating from 1903 to 1919.

4.2.1 The first planning in Kampala- 1903- 1919: The encounter of ideas

Kampala was originally the headquarters of the Buganda Kingdom. In 1900, the Buganda Agreement between the British Special Commissioner and the chiefs of Buganda was signed and thus set the seal for the colonization of the country and the establishment of Kampala as the colonial administrative headquarters (Omolo-Okalebo et al, 2010). From this time onwards, the influence of the British colonial government was visible in all spheres in Kampala. The historical association between the planning of Kampala city and colonialism is overarching and unquestioned. The visibility of the modern planning in Kampala is traced to the establishment of Kampala Township in 1902 by the British colonial government. The declaration of Kampala as township was closely followed by the first zoning incidence marking the first formal town planning in 1903 (Omolo-Okalebo, 2011). Lwasa (2006) points out that the first town planning regulations in Uganda were enforced in the Township Ordinance of 1903 (Government of Uganda, 1903:333). There was complete reorganisation of the town as traditional governance systems and structures (Under the Baganda King) had to be displaced and replaced by colonial ideas and systems that sought to impose British interest on the local people. The Ordinance provided for matters such as street cleaning and operation of the market among other urban development activities. The Ordinance guided the growth and development of Kampala till 1919 when other ideas and schemes began to dominate the development discourse of Kampala.

From 1912 onward, several ideas, theories, and global events came into play in the development of Kampala. First, health concerns and the need to provide colonial administrators and early settlers with a quality living environment gave rise to “environmental sanitation measures and the establishment of a rudimentary local government” in Kampala (Omolo-Okalebo et al, 2010:156). During these years, the ‘discovery’ of the causes and transmitters of malaria by Dr. Ronald Ross complicated the criteria for planning the development of Kampala. Dr. Ross conceived that anopheles mosquito transmitted the disease through biting of an infected person in the tropics, and most especially children. Then Dr. Simpson the expert on sanitary affairs together with his counterpart Lugard argued that the solution to the peaceful settlement of Europeans in the tropics, including Kampala, was through creation of exclusive, endogamous, and defensible enclaves by means of careful planning (Omolo-Okalebo, 2010). Although malaria provided the most important single argument for sanitary segregation in planning and residential location, other diseases such as smallpox and plague were equally a

factor. These health reasons guided the birth of racial discrimination in city planning and urban development process in Kampala. As discussed below, the Ordnance and the early colonial urban development ideas of this early European-Kampala encounter period continued and influenced the first physical plan for Kampala.

4.2.2 The second planning period: the 1919- 1930 planning ideas and scheme

From 1912 onwards, Kampala became a significant town, and was considered a control centre for economic development in Uganda. Thus, it became necessary to accommodate new residential, office and commercial functions within the established township. The first physical development scheme for Kampala was formulated in 1919. Like in most of British territories in Africa and Asia at the time, aesthetic values were central to the general conception of planning and these played a role in the creation and transformation of Kampala's urban landscape (Omolo-Okalebo, 2010). During this period, the most elaborate segregationist proposals, combining racist and sanitary objectives, came from W. J. Simpson of the London School of Hygiene and Tropical Medicine. According to Njoh (2007), Simpson emphasised that in the interests of each community and of the healthiness of the locality and country, it was essential that in every town and trade centre, "town planning needed to provide well-defined and separate quarters or wards for Europeans, Asiatics, and Africans, and that there should be a neutral belt of open unoccupied country of at least 300 yards in width between the groupings" (Omolo-Okalebo et al, 2010:158). Omolo-Okalebo et al (2010) report that Simpson gave recommendations on the planning of Kampala town, among other things, as follows:

1. The necessity of securing its development on healthy lines; by physical separation of Europeans, Indians, and Africans by the use of greenbelts that neither could 'encroach' on.
2. The protection of its current water supply and the substitution as soon as possible by a public water supply from Lake Victoria.
3. The drainage of the marshes to prevent the breeding of mosquitoes.
4. Strict control over the use of plots was to be maintained.

Simpson's "recommendations dominated the 1919 development thinking and processes in Kampala and formed the basis for planning in the 1930s" and to a certain extent the entire colonial period (Omolo-Okalebo et al, 2010:159). The Central Planning Board was constituted at the end of 1917 and oversaw the preparation of a plan for Kampala in 1919. It should be noted that Simpson's plan for Kampala of 1919 did not cater for the native Africans and therefore they were kept out of the township as they were thought to increase the risk of

malarial infection. The native Africans were confined to areas that were not planned and lacked access to infrastructure and adequate housing. These areas continue to lack modern infrastructure and are prone to flooding and disease.

4.2.3 Planning in the third colonial period: The shift in ideology and ideas in the 1930s-1940s

In early 1920s, despite Simpson's plan, the colonial government continued to lament about poor sanitary conditions in Kampala. At the same time, the Colonial Office in London had decided in 1923 that segregation in East Africa by legislation was unjustified. By 1929, Kampala had expanded so quickly and in many ways so unsatisfactorily that the Government had to seek remedial measures. As such, in 1929, the Uganda administration asked the Colonial Office to assist in the planning of Kampala by providing qualified staff in town planning, anti-malarial measures and sewerage management systems. Accordingly, a Mr. A. E. Mirams was engaged as a town planning expert to lead the team to prepare a report and plan for the expansion of Kampala (Omolo-Okalebo, 2010). Mirams led a team of experts in formulating the 1930 Kampala development scheme which contained proposals on the future expansion of Kampala, the siting of public buildings, co-ordination of arrangements for the layout of roads, drains, sewers, electric lights, and power lines. The scheme was used until the 1940s and engaged with the complex issue of native location, refuse disposal and revised rules of the township and the preparation of a Town Planning Ordinance (Omolo-Okalebo et al, 2010). The final report and scheme still propagated the same ideology of racial discrimination and spatial separation. Kendall (1955) observes that Mirams was farsighted both in regard to his road network and zoning. Kampala has undoubtedly developed along the broad lines recommended by him in his report and scheme. Mirams planning scheme of 1930 does not show any residential zones for Africans, meaning that they continued to be kept out of the township environment and lived in the Kibuga area, the native capital (Omolo-Okalebo, 2010). By conceptually "organising the city and its extension into separate, mixed-use communities with several areas as green belts", the 1930 plan revealed its intellectual debt to Ebenezer Howard's Garden City (Gutschow, 2009:247).

4.2.4 The last colonial planning episode in Kampala: Ideas and outcomes from 1950s - 1960s

Kampala during this particular time had the special feature of being the centre of the settler economy in the Uganda Protectorate. The 1950 period witnessed significant changes in the Colonial Office, resulting in shift of planning ideologies. This was the period when comprehensive planning was accepted in most colonial cities, including Kampala, supported

by model Town and Country Planning Acts and urban master plans (Watson & Agbola, 2013). In Uganda, the 1951 Uganda Town and Country Planning Act gave prominence to zoning and development control and empowered the planning board to strictly regulate urban planning and development in Kampala. This marked the era of strict top-down planning processes and systems in Uganda and Kampala in general. These systems continue to be entrenched in the current Physical Planning Act of 2010.

Comprehensive planning, coupled with zoning and development control were dominant in the 1951 plan for Kampala. The plan was seen to serve many purposes, including but not limited to, bringing together the analyses of the social, economic, and physical characteristics. Kendall (1955) writes that on the basis of the 1930 Kampala scheme and the experiences of development trends between 1930 and 1950, the Local Planning Authority (LPA), on the direction of the Town and Country Planning Board, commenced the preparation of a comprehensive development plan in 1949 for Kampala.

Although several ideas guided the formulation of the 1951 Kampala plan, traces of the old plans still remained. During this period, the planning orthodoxy was that the major land uses of the city should be clearly distinguished and provided for in separate ‘zones.’ Again, the ordering principle for ideal cities such as Le Corbusier’s ‘radiant city’ was dominant in this framework. The Town and Country Planning Ordinance of 1947 was replaced by the Town and Country Planning Act of 1951 which guided the formulation and implementation of the first master plan for Kampala. Planning based on racial segregation became progressively blurred and Kampala was to be remodelled on the basis of function and land use categorisation (Omolo-Okalebo et al, 2010). As such, Kampala was categorized into major land use zones with the newly annexed areas of Nakawa and Naguru being planned as dominantly African residential estates. The 1951 master plan was expected to guide the development of Kampala till 1962, but the plan remained in force for a full decade after political independence and was only replaced in 1972. The next sub-section analyses planning in the early years of the postcolonial period from 1962 till 1994.

4.2.5 Urban planning in the postcolonial context of Uganda: Enduring colonial influence

The immediate effect of Uganda’s independence in 1962 was an increase in urbanisation that showed a remarkable spurt of growth in Kampala, thereby presenting new planning challenges. This sub-section analyses the planning episodes, institutions and ideas that shaped planning in the period from 1962 to 1994.

The post-colonial era from 1962 saw a remarkable urban growth in Uganda, with Kampala emerging as the most attractive and largest urban centre in the country. The Uganda Town and Country Planning Act of 1964 (national planning legislation) guided all planning activities in Kampala between 1960s and 1994. This legislation anchored the activities of the 1964 United Nations Urban Mission to Uganda. Planning regulations promulgated under this Act indicated that the planning challenges affecting Kampala were of a regional nature. Thus, the regulations provided a comprehensive code governing administration and enforcement of the Kampala Structure Plan and urban development (Omolo-Okalebo, 2011). The post 1960 urban growth in Kampala was recorded in all sectors of society including the economy, political, administrative and industrial sectors that contributed to employment opportunities, and consequently a rise in migration into Kampala city. With increasing migration, the 1951 plan was not sufficient to deal with the new urban pressures that came with increasing migration into Kampala. The new 1972 development plan followed recommendations of a 1969 report of the detailed survey of the land-uses and the basic essentials of a master plan programme by the United Nations Urban Mission in Uganda (Omolo-Okalebo, 2011). The UN report followed a major event in Kampala- the February 1968 expansion of Kampala administrative boundaries from 28 square kilometres (area covered by 1951 scheme) to 195 square kilometres, through annexation of neighbouring areas (Kendall, 1955).

Planning outcomes included government's economic development policies that tended to concentrate on commercial and industrial investment in the Kampala region, thus, creating new job opportunities and attracting even more people from the rural areas (Giddings, 2009). As rapid development continued to take place in the city centre, the Town and Country Planning Department in conjunction with the Town and Country Planning Board found it necessary to start the preparation of the 'Kampala Development Plan' in 1970, with the aim of including the newly annexed areas into Kampala Metropolitan Area. Literature on Kampala indicate that the 1972 plan effectively incorporated a city-region approach to planning. Besides proposals for physical expansion and active incorporation of black Africans in the planned areas of Kampala, the 1972 framework did not deviate much from the 1951 (colonial) framework. Furthermore, the extent of implementation of this plan remains unclear, thus, its influence on the development of Kampala is questionable. Literature on the impact of this plan argue that the 1972 physical scheme for Kampala is questionable as Kampala continued to grow according the 1951 physical framework. The scheme did not have more impact because the new framework at the time was not accompanied with changes in the urban governance system,

infrastructure and social fabric, hence, the inherent problems and emerging impacts of urban sprawl could not be addressed by the new scheme. Nnaggenda-Musana & Vestbro (2013:28) argue:

....rapid urbanisation has led to urban sprawl and physical infrastructure deficiencies as well as depletion of natural resources and increased discharge of unprocessed wastes in the environment resulting in severe health problems. The main issues concerning Kampala in Uganda are proliferation of slums and unplanned settlements, water, inadequate housing, sanitation and solids waste management.

As a result of these problems a new 1994 plan was prepared by a Canadian consulting firm, Plan Alliance. Plan Alliance proposed a revised approach to land-use zoning that reflected the present and anticipated socio-economic and political situations in Kampala. The primary objective of the new land-use zoning was to encourage, rather than discourage, the kind of mixed use which had arisen in an ad-hoc basis in Kampala over the past years (Omolo-Okalebo et al, 2010). The assumption was that mixing land-uses would contribute towards an improved urban environment. The relative mix, particularly residential and employment uses, was seen as critical to the attainment of increased economic investment. In relation to the 1972 master plan, in the 1980s, the areas which were zoned for mono-use- for housing recorded a significant growth particularly in informal economic activities. Plan Alliance recommended an integration of informal activities in the new plan of 1994 (Van Nostrand, 1994). It should be noted that Uganda had its first postcolonial national Development Plan (NDP) only in 2010. As such, city planning was not based on any long or medium term national development plan (National Development Plan 2010/11 - 2014/15, Uganda National Planning Authority , 2011).

The 1994 plan proposed a range of land-use designations as introduced in the earlier 1972 Development Plan, resulting in five basic zones namely: residential, commercial, industrial, institutional and environmental. Each of these areas was zoned for mixed use, with emphasis on one major activity. Given that the 1994 master plan basically sought to respond to the limitations of the 1972 framework (corrective proposals), one would argue that the process of formulating the 1994 plan and its outcomes indicate that the growth trajectory of Kampala was set in the colonial period (Van Nostrand, 1994). Like the 1972 plan, this plan failed to have a marked impact on the spatial development of Kampala as its extent of implementation remains unclear. The 1994 plan is being revised with a view to replacing it with the 2013 draft

Physical Plan¹⁵. The draft Physical Plan will be the first to be formulated possibly within the framework of the National Planning Authority Act, 2002 and the Physical Planning Act of 2010. The major function of the Authority is to produce comprehensive and integrated development plans for the country elaborated in terms of the perspective vision and the long term and medium term plans. It is expected that all national, city and local area plans would be aligned with the provisions of 2002 Act. It should be noted that both the National Planning Authority and the Physical Planning Act are framed within the neo-liberal national macro-policy environment.

In the following section, the researcher analyses postcolonial influences that have shaped city planning processes and outcomes in Kampala.

4.3 Postcolonial influences on city planning in Kampala

The section firstly discusses the social dynamics of Kampala which influenced city planning from 1962. Then it discusses the national economic context before discussing land tenure systems and access to land, and governance and the institutional environment in relation to city planning in Kampala. The colonial planning processes and outcomes was a technical activity with no consideration for consulting communities or community consultation. The 2010 Physical Planning Act, under Section 20 and 22 make a very brief provision for participatory planning (through written submissions) but this Act has not been implemented, especially in Kampala. It should be noted that participatory planning provisions in this Act concern National and Regional Development Plans, with no direct provisions for local area plans. Planning is still a highly technical and top-down activity, at least in practice.

4.3.1 Colonial influence: Inherited planning principles and spatial outcomes in Kampala

As discussed in the earlier sections, planning of Kampala during this era was influenced by a combination of ideas and theories dating back to the early twentieth century, and through to the 1950s and to the 1960s. There has been ongoing colonial influence in Kampala and this has continued to affect planning in clear ways. This is not unique to Kampala, as across large swathes of the global South, the concept of urban planning, along with its institutional structures, hierarchical power relations, Cartesian concept of space, and ideas about what constituted modern cities, continues to be part of the colonial and modernizing project (Nunes Silva, 2015; Home, 2014). This is influenced by ‘entrenched’ top-down non-consultative processes that have characterised physical planning in Uganda and Kampala in particular. But

¹⁵ <https://adireichroman.wordpress.com/2013/05/01/kampala-physical-development-plan/>, 17/10/16

while the years since formal political independence in 1962 have seen significant urban changes in Uganda and other former colonies in Africa and their cities, the project of modernity has persisted, supported and taken forward to a large extent by a national elite linked to global networks of power and money. This project is very evident in the field of urban planning in Kampala, where national planning laws (See Government of Uganda, 2010) have changed very little up to the present time.

Collaborative or participatory planning processes have barely found their way into Ugandan planning systems (especially Kampala), which are still highly technocratic and centralised at national and city/district government level, although efforts to ensure effective public participation during service delivery and slum upgrading processes are mentioned as a priority issue for Kampala Capital City Authority (KCCA) (Njoh, 2008). Post-military rule in Uganda (after 1986) seemed to pay attention to decentralisation and sought to transfer planning and service delivery functions to the lowest unit of government, the village level (Mugabi, 2004). However, essentially, the highly modernist form of planning which prevailed in the UK and other European countries in the post-War period still holds in Uganda, despite the fact that it is wholly inappropriate to deal with the very different current and future dynamics and issues of Kampala. While a great deal of planning work has been done in both the colonial and postcolonial eras of Uganda, almost all planning ideas expressed in the colonial planning approaches and schemes of Kampala City in 1903, 1912, 1919, 1930 and 1951 have had an enduring physical impact on the spatial structure of Kampala City compared to any period after independence (Omolo-Okalebo, 2011). In Kampala, the post-colonial era experienced little application and implementation of the planning ideas and plans. This is attributed to several players including the complicated land tenure systems emerging from 1900 Buganda Agreement, lack of political commitment, and importation of foreign models without reorienting them to the local context. Kampala has had a number of master plans but the top-down, state-directed and regulating approach to planning in the City has persisted, as in many African cities (Berrisford 2011). As such, the nature of planning in the colonial era seems to have continued to shape the relations between the state and citizens in matters of urban land administration, management and urban development processes in Kampala.

Goodfellow (2013) writes that both colonial and postcolonial urban planning regimes across the African continent have certainly contributed to fragmented cities that spatially exclude the poor (Nkurunziza, 2006). For example, Kampala is renowned for haphazard development and collapsing buildings (Pelling & Wisner, 2009), shanty settlements prone to fatal flooding and

waterborne disease outbreaks (Mabasi, 2009), as well as its pot-holed streets, crumbling infrastructure and crippling traffic congestion worsened by the illegal conversion of parking spaces. Much of the urban development in the City is characterised as informal or illegal by planning statutes. Demolitions and evictions by City authorities are common, but at the same time, clientelistic practices seem to shape the way the state relates with multiple groups and individuals operating in Kampala. With ‘corruption’ as an underlying motive for many decisions, a very complex state-society web of engagements exists in Kampala. While previous and current planning systems were put in place as part of the colonial project of control, and while these have persisted over time, supported more recently by local elites who also find planning to be a useful tool to manage (or manipulate) the value and use of urban land, the implementation and effectiveness of these planning approaches has varied significantly. Thus, despite major shifts in political and development thinking in the period after independence, the varying menu of proposed policy remedies did little to stem the ultimately ‘laissez-faire’ nature of urban growth, particularly after the 1970s (Beall & Gazdar, 2010). Goodfellow (2013:2) argues that the “former settler colonies of Africa exhibit relatively strong legacies of planning that have to some degree been carried through to the present”. The following sub-section provides an analysis of the postcolonial economic context that shapes urban planning and development in Kampala.

4.3.2 The Ugandan economy - Liberalisation reforms and impacts on Kampala

The Ugandan national economy is traditionally powered by agriculture and agricultural related industries. While in the 1990s and early 2000s, economic growth was sluggish, the national economy has in the recent past posted remarkable positive growth, becoming one of the fastest growing economies in Africa. According to Rwabizambuga et al (2016:2) “Uganda’s economic outlook is positive, with real GDP growth expected to average 5.1% in 2016, compared to 5.3% in 2015, and 4.7% for 2014.” Rwabizambuga et al (2016:4-6), argue that about 19% of Uganda’s 35 million people live in urban areas. It is expected to rise to 30% by 2040, from 11.4% in 1991. Uganda has one primary city, Kampala, which houses key national administrative institutions, and is a hub of economic activity in the country and the bedrock of the private sector. The city hosts about 23% of the total urban population and “is one of the fastest growing African cities with annual growth rates of 5.6%” (Vermeiren et al, 2012:1).

Prior to 1992, Uganda’s economy was characterised by market disequilibrium. Markets were controlled and the state was engaged in business through public enterprises. In responding to the structural reforms demanded by the Bretton Woods Institutions in the late 1980s, Uganda

began liberalising all markets with a view to obtaining market efficiency in resource allocation and distribution of goods and services. The openness of Uganda's economy increased significantly from 1992 through 2000. "Liberalisation and privatisation led to private sector led growth in Uganda" (Ssewanyana & Bategeka, 2007:8). The Government's liberalisation and privatisation policies, which were implemented onwards of 1992, were intended to improve efficiency in the allocation of resources, and the management of business - both of which were expected to maximise economic growth (Kasekende & Atingi-Ego, 1999). The good economic performance from 1992 to 2000 benefited all categories of people, including the chronically poor. Nevertheless, since 2000 the investment climate was hardly supportive of private domestic investment, as local businesses, especially small scale informal and formal ones, faced poor access to financial services and high interest rates. According to Ssewanyana & Bategeka (2007), Uganda's main sources of growth from 1992 to 2000 were the stable economic policies that led to increases in agricultural incomes, foreign direct investment, remittances by Ugandans living abroad, and the high growth of the real estate sector. In addition, Uganda's economic growth has been partly driven by increased private sector investment, especially in industry and construction, and increased donor support geared towards public sector spending on social services (Kappel et al, 2005).

However, economic reforms present significant challenges to the socio-economic development programmes which affected the development of Kampala in significant ways. The late 1990s and early 2000s saw major urban decay that was caused by state withdrawal from service provisions and social development programmes, all leading to a steady rise of the informal sector. Private sector-led service provision and housing development were largely responsible for a situation that led to what Lindell and Appelblad (2009) describe as disabling governance. The social contract between the state and citizens was eroded, informality rose, governance of Kampala became more conflicted and opportunities for citizens dwindled giving birth to clientelistic relations between state and organised groups of citizens.

According to Lindell and Appelblad (2009), the urban economy in Uganda has experienced a rapid informalisation in the last decades, post 2000. Policies of economic liberalisation, large-scale retrenchment, the decline of real incomes in the wage sector and the accelerated rural to urban migration in the context of armed conflict have all contributed to the growing number of urban dwellers engaging in informal income activities. The privatisation and liberalisation reforms targeted privatisation of parastatals as well as the contracting out of basic services at the level of local governments. In the mid-1990s Kampala City Council began privatising

service delivery in the city. With this policy turn, Kampala City Council adopted a ‘shared responsibility strategy’ as a modality for delivering urban services, which would supposedly make services more accessible, affordable and sustainable and would involve full community participation. In this strategy, privatisation and public-private partnerships were accorded high priority (Lwasa, 2007). This led to significant failures in service delivery, loss of jobs and a rise in informality. It was during this period that tensions in Kampala between political parties escalated. “Politicians appeared to perceive these large numbers of people in the informal economy as vote banks” (Lindell & Appelblad, 2009:398). In Kampala, increased number of vendors found themselves caught in a power struggle between conflicting powerful political interests, particularly between the opposition with a stronghold in Kampala and the National Resistance Movement (NRM) governing at the central level.

The policy of economic liberalisation has affected the housing industry in Uganda in a fundamental way. The National Housing and Construction Corporation (NHCC) sold off many houses to private buyers. Government continues to encourage individuals and private firms to build houses for themselves. However, with the colonial legacy of unequal development in Kampala, for the urban poor populations, the liberalisation of housing delivery meant a continued lack of access to affordable housing for the majority of urban populations. After privatisation of the housing sector, the role of the City authority in the housing sector in Kampala has been limited to approving building plans, and ensuring quality of building construction. According to Ssewanyana & Bategeka (2007:9), “there are hardly any public social or low cost housing schemes for the poor in urban areas, and where efforts are made by the public sector to provide housing for the poor the rich often grab such opportunities for themselves”. According to Okot-Okumu and Oosterveer (2010), as of 2006, one in every 4 household in urban areas lives in either rented or temporary dwelling units. In other words, as much as most households in Kampala own their houses, there are temporary or semi-temporary housing units and very inadequate. In the following section, I discuss land tenure systems in relation to city planning and urban development in Kampala.

4.3.3 Land tenure systems in Kampala: understanding the effects on city planning

The complexity surrounding urban planning and state-society relations in Kampala is further complicated by complex, multiple, land tenure systems. The history of land ownership and management in Kampala can be traced back to the 1600s when it was established as the Capital or (Kibuga) of then Buganda Kingdom. The colonial-initiated ‘legal’ framework for the ‘orderly’ growth of Kampala was first laid down in the Uganda Ordinance of 1903 which gave

powers to the Governor to define the city's boundary and formulate rules and regulations governing the physical development of Kampala (Omolo-Okalebo, 2010). Thus, the Ordinance gave the colonial government power to superimpose British-styled urban development regulations on the land that was initially managed by the Kabaka Chiefs. The land tenure systems in Kampala have exerted considerable influence on the way the city has grown and how slums have developed (Nawangwe, 2002). This is because certain types of tenure easily support planned development on land while others work to the detriment of orderly growth. It is worth noting that before 2010, planning was not a condition for the compulsory acquisition of land. The 2010 Physical Planning Act declares all land as planning land but the operationalisation of this Act is hugely problematic due to complexities in the land tenure system. The complexities that surround land access and urban development in Kampala are demonstrated by the findings on the Kinawataka Market redevelopment project in the Nakawa case (See chapters 5 and 6).

According to Muinde (2013), land ownership in Kampala falls under the Mailo, Leasehold, Freehold and customary tenure systems and these are stipulated in Article 237 of the 1995 Constitution of Uganda. The Mailo land tenure system derives its origins from the 1900s agreement which led to the allocation of land between Kabaka (King of the Baganda Kingdom in Kampala) and the Colonial state (Okuku, 2006). This tenure system continues to be guided by the 1998 Land Act and the Land Amendment Act of 2010. Owners of land under Mailo have the right to own it in perpetuity. Under Mailo, land rights include use, and transactions such as sale, mortgage, lease, pledge, subdivide, and disposal. Much of the land in Kampala falls under Mailo, which is divided into land owned by the Baganda Kingdom and private individuals. The Mailo system gave the King and the Feudal landlords freehold rights over large tracts of land in Kampala, and often inhabited by poorer City residents who are mainly tenants. On Mailo land, structure owners could be same as land owners, and may rent out land and or structures under the Kibanja tenure systems as a component of the Mailo system. The majority of slums are located on land registered under Mailo and this makes planning very difficult (See case of Kinawataka in the Nakawa division sub-case - chapter 5).

The other land tenure system is called the Leasehold land tenure system. This system is described by Mwide (2013) as land where ownership is created by a contract or operation of law in which a landlord grants another person (the tenant) exclusive possession of land, but not necessarily for a period defined directly or indirectly by a specific date of commencement or ending. In Kampala, this type of land includes all public land formerly owned by the colonial

government whose ownership fell under the Uganda government as prescribed by the 1969 Public Land Act and the 1998 Land Act, and whose management falls under the Authority in charge of managing Kampala. This land includes all public buildings like hospitals, schools. Individuals and private organisations who have been leased this land by the Land Board of Kampala (LBK) possess a certificate of title and have the right of use and transaction subject to consent of the Board. This tenure system is common in the Kampala Central and Nakawa Divisions.

The third land tenure scheme in Kampala is the Freehold system. The Freehold land tenure system has roots in the colonial government and entails holding of registered land in perpetuity. Rights associated with Freehold land tenure ownership as outline Section 4 (2) (b) of the Land Act of 1998 include use rights, right to derive benefits, and transaction rights such as selling, lease, mortgage, pledge and disposal. While Mailo land tenure traces its roots from the Baganda, freehold land is mainly state land owned by institutions such as churches, schools and mosques, among other similar institutions (use rights for Mailo and Freehold are similar). The fourth land tenure type is the customary land tenure system, which is described in Section 4 (1) (a) (b) of the Land Act of 1998. This is a form of land tenure applicable to a specific area, or land, or description of persons (mostly in rural areas), and is governed by rules accepted as binding on the class of people to which it applies (Okuku, 2006).

The Land Act of 1998 and the Land Amendment Act of 2010 contain a pro-tenant measure to enhance the security of occupancy of lawful occupants and protect them from rampant evictions. According to Kiggundu and Mukiibi (2012:2), “due to a multifarious and complex land tenure system in Kampala, the provision of roads and other transport – related infrastructure such as parking facilities and bus terminals has become virtually impossible”. As a result of the existence of a land tenure system that is dominated by private Mailo and Freehold land owners, effective spatial planning and implementation of the spatial frameworks have been very problematic in Kampala. According to the 1995 Constitution, Article 26 of the Constitution:

‘...all land in Uganda belongs to the citizens of Uganda...’there must be prompt compensation....’
for the land acquired from individual private land owners for providing public goods such as roads, hospitals and schools.

(Kiggundu & Mukiibi, 2012: 2).

Land tenure category	Percentage (%)	Status	Planning issues
Private mailo	75	Fully titled with estimated 45,000 titles	Slum infestation and unplanned
Leasehold	15	Higher % titled	Largely planned
Kabaka's land	7	Titled	Largely unplanned
Freehold	3	Titled	Partly planned

Table 2: Land tenure systems in Kampala
Kiggundu & Mukiibi (2012: 2)

A large percentage of the Mailo land is unplanned with several high-density slum settlements (see table 2). The owners of land on Mailo enjoy various land rights, including the right to continued plot subdivision as well as piecemeal releases. This has contributed to disorderly urban development as well as the development of informal settlements with no centrally provided services and infrastructure such as roads and piped water (Nawangwe, 2002). Nyakwebara (2010) maintains that land use planning in Kampala has been affected by the existence of a complex land tenure system that is dominated by the private land owners who prefer releasing their land piece meal and in small plots, making state-led planning out of reach, and hence the growth of slums is a result.

A contradiction between legal provisions and land realities exist. The 1995 Constitution, and the Physical Planning Act of 2010, much as they accord powers to city authorities to plan, the same Constitution and the Land Act (revised 2000) restricts state agents to interfere with people's land. Despite these legal provisions, Kampala especially housing have continued to be haphazard, unplanned and located outside planned area (Lwasa, 2007). For example, Nnaggenda-Musana (2008) attribute the failure of planning to rampant subdivisions and sale of small pieces of land by private owners, and lease of land by the Buganda Land Board without provisions for planning standards and provision of infrastructural services. The multi-form nature of tenure regimes complicates planning and development control enforcement processes as all the three main tenure types are found in Kampala. The temporary nature of some land ownership that comes as gift, rental, borrowing, squatting, and tenancy, which lack certifying documents and security of tenure, further complicates the planning processes (Kiggundu & Mukiibi, 2012). In the following section I discuss the governance systems in relation to planning in Kampala.

4.3.4 Governance systems and structure in postcolonial Uganda: Implications for planning

Myers (2011) suggests, African cities have long had dense social networks and informal institutions - essential for strategies of survival and expanding livelihood options. These still stand apart from formal political and administrative institutions or are drawn into engagement with formal processes for purposes of patronage and clientelism. The decentralisation and 'good governance' agenda has essentially attempted to transplant institutions of global North liberal democracy into very different social contexts resulting in a major gap between actually occurring political practices and the imported model of local governance and democracy. Older, but continually evolving tactics and strategies involving the operationalizing of networks of power and influence are often a far more effective way for the poor to secure resources than the more abstract, less-known and less reliable new institutions of local government. Robins et al (2008:1079) suggest, "...poor people tend to adopt plural strategies; they occupy multiple spaces and draw on multiple political identities, discourses and social relationships, often simultaneously". This has certainly been the case in Kampala informal settlements (Goodfellow, 2010).

Prior to the rise of the National Resistance Movement (NRM) government in 1986, Uganda's history had been characterised by recurrent political turbulence, with little involvement of citizens in decision-making and community development processes (Devas & Grant, 2003). Between 1970 and 1986, many regimes existed, beginning with the overthrow of the first Obote regime by Idi Amin Dada through a military coup in 1971 and the subsequent military overthrow of Idi Amin's regime in 1979, through the successive short-lived governments that were established and overthrown in a matter of months between the end of Amin's government in 1979 and the second Obote government in 1981 (Omolo-Okalebo, 2011). Besides continued influence of inherited colonial planning laws and development schemes for Kampala, post-1962 Uganda largely experienced military leadership and little space existed to facilitate democratic state-society relations to enable participatory planning processes in Kampala. As such, in 1986, the ruling NRM government needed to build local political structures and ensure local political control. According Muriisa (2008:83) decentralisation in Uganda started in 1986 but the "...reform process became "pronounced in the 1990s when it featured as one of the World Bank's structural criteria...". Like in other parts of Africa, the decentralisation programme in Uganda was influenced by the recommendations of the World Bank for developing countries to devolve political and administrative powers to local and autonomous levels. Thus, Golola (2003:256) argues that "the process of decentralisation in sub-Saharan

Africa has coincided”, and perhaps even been dictated by efforts and offers by the donor community.

Uganda is one of the first few countries in Africa that adopted and implemented the decentralisation agenda in the 1980s-1990s. Prior to 1986 Uganda’s local government system was very much controlled from Kampala, the nation’s capital. Green (2008:3) reports that when President “Yoweri Museveni and his National Resistance Movement (NRM) government took over power in 1986, he and the NRM embarked on a radical decentralisation programme”. Uganda’s decentralisation programme has drawn significant praise from donors and scholars alike. For instance, Francis & James (2003:325) have described it as “one of the most far-reaching local government reform programmes in the developing world” ...and as “one of the most radical devolution initiatives of any country at this time” (Mitchinson, 2003:241). From the late 1980s to early 2000s, the National Resistance Movement (NRM) government, under President Yoweri Kaguta Museveni seemed strongly committed to decentralisation, supporting an ambitious and exemplary form of devolution in Kampala and other local government centres (Steiner, 2006). The devolution process transferred planning and other service delivery functions to the local authority, making the Kampala City Council a powerful actor in state-society relations.

According to Saito (2000:2), “donors and international agencies, particularly the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund (IMF), have played a very influential role in the reform process- including decentralisation-, but the government of Uganda seems to have demonstrated a genuine commitment” to the reforms. Writers argue that decentralisation was expected to contribute to national development by empowering people and institutions at every level of society in order to improve access to services, increase people’s participation in decision making and subsequently to provide a framework for developing people’s capacities and enhancing government’s responsiveness, transparency and accountability (Ojambo, 2012). The NRM totally altered the formerly top-down local government system by instituting local democratic control through an increased number of popularly elected posts while also making all citizens mandatory members of their local Resistance Councils (RCs)- community level NRM political structures. The RC system was renamed as the Local Council (LC) system in 1997, and forms one of the important functionaries for the ruling NRM in Kampala. The LC system is a mechanism used by the NRM to deliver its messages to the people, and also one utilised by the people to express their views and participate in local decision making process. The NRM maintains that people can fully participate in politics through the LC and not through

competitions by political parties (Saito, 2000). Thus, the LC system and the NRM are two sides of the same coin, making genuine democratic participation in governance and development control hard to actualise. Under the guise of development, the local councils were originally established for political reasons and not with the aim of improving service delivery or reducing poverty. According to Mugabi (2004), the initial explanation of the LCs lies in considerations of political expediency. Decentralisation had to be adopted as both a way of strengthening donor relations (democratic governance) and as a way of ensuring local political control. Both objectives of Museveni's governance agenda appear to have been fulfilled.

In 1993, the policy of decentralisation was officially launched and districts became centres for service provision. The district council, which is comprised of elected members, is the highest political authority having legislative and executive powers within the district, and other councils in lower-level local government are also the highest political authorities in their jurisdictions. Authors argue that a central feature of Uganda's decentralisation policy is that local councils are mandated to be responsible for the delivery of the majority of public functions and services. According to Steiner (2006), district/city councils are responsible for functions and services including but not limited to: primary, secondary, trade, special and technical education; hospitals other than hospitals providing referral and medical training; health centers, dispensaries; the construction and maintenance of feeder roads; the provision and maintenance of sanitation services and water supplies; agricultural extension services, land administration and surveying; and community development (Mugabi, 2004). As such, "decentralisation has been providing the framework within which Uganda has been implementing its city development and poverty reduction programmes" (Mugabi, 2004:1).

Decentralisation led to the devolution of broad powers of administration and implementation to the districts, leaving the centre with responsibility for matters of defence and law and order (Gore & Muwanga, 2014). According to Ojambo (2012), the local government administrative structure and system are comprised of a five-tier structure where, in urban districts the structure begins with village council (LC1) (essential administrative structure) as shown in figure 4.1, then the ward or parish council (LC2), the municipal or town division (LC3), the municipality (LC4) and the district/city council (LC5/) with the Mayor as a political head of LC 5. Prior to 2010 (legally), Kampala's government and governance framework entailed three different forms of devolution of power, namely: 1) political decentralisation (as evidenced by the election of council members), 2) administrative decentralisation (as evidenced by the appointment of local administration personnel by council), and 3) fiscal decentralisation (as

evidenced by the powers granted to local councils to raise local revenue and receive funds from the central government for the implementation of agreed-upon national programmes).

However, the introduction of multiparty politics in Uganda created a new threat to the NRM government. The discomfort between the NRM government and the local government system started to manifest itself in the late 1990s, and this led to a stream of efforts in the first decade of the 21st century by the NRM national government to interfere and/or recentralise the governance systems and institutions in Uganda, especially in the biggest urban centre, Kampala. Writing in a year when the governance of Kampala was recentralised, Goodfellow (2010: 1) reveals:

The Ugandan capital, Kampala, increasingly appears to be a city in a crisis. Constant political interventions from the central government have repeatedly frustrated efforts towards improved planning for the city, while the city government itself – starved of resources and hounded by corruption scandals – is failing to provide basic services to the burgeoning urban population.

Goodfellow (2010) has argued there has been a profound institutional crisis which has always hampered effective governance of Uganda's capital city. In the following section, I argue that urban governance in Kampala was radically transformed and made more complex by the World Bank championed liberalisation and privatisation reforms that took place between 1990s and early 2000s. Figure 4.1 summarises the complexity of decision-making processes in Kampala.

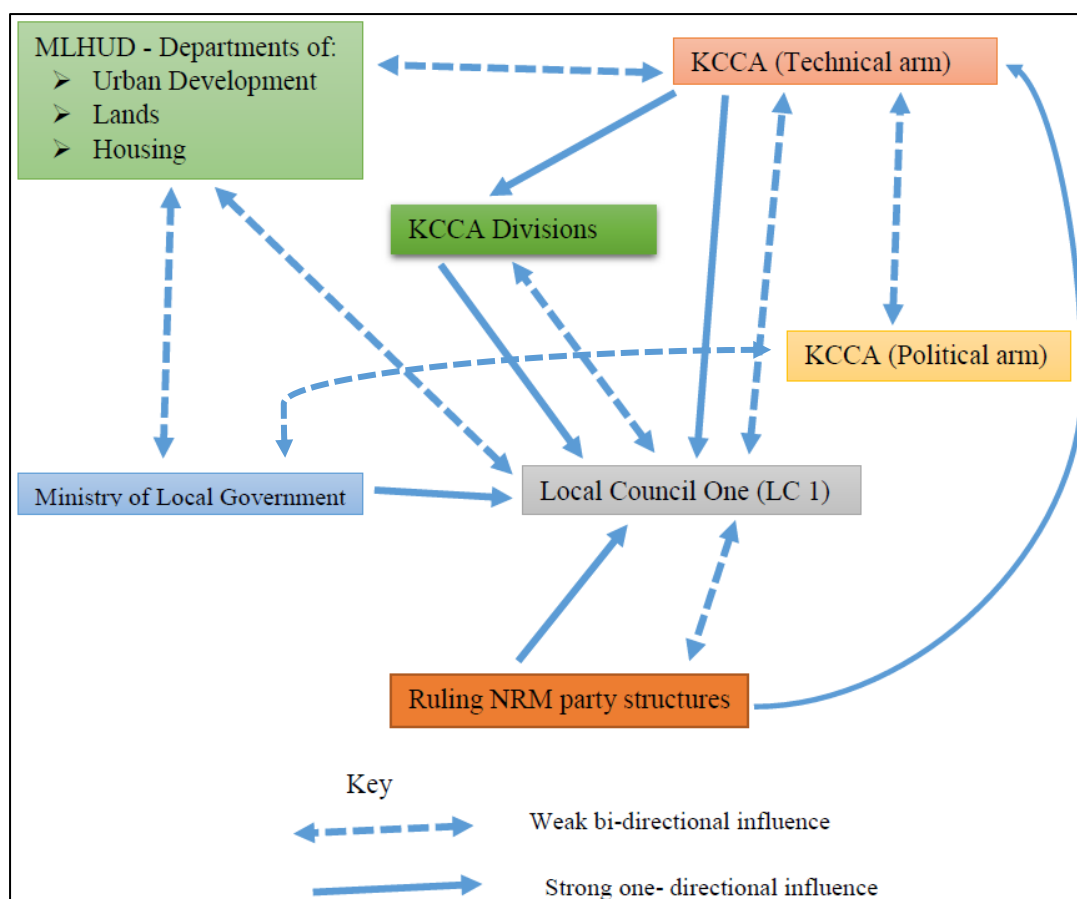


Figure 4.1: Decision-making processes and interactions in Kampala
Findings, Field research

4.3.5 Capital city reforms and the eventual ‘death of decentralisation’ in Kampala

After years of neglect and antagonism towards the country’s largest urban centre, the Ugandan national government managed to significantly reform the political and administrative structure of Kampala by 2010. It created a new national authority to oversee the administration of the city- the Kampala Capital City Authority (KCCA). After the formation of KCCA in 2010, a major change came when the appointment of all staff - the Executive Director, chief administrative officers and their deputies for the various KCCA directorates- became centralized, giving the national government power over the tendering process at the local level (Gore and Muwanga, 2014). According to Gore and Muwanga (2014), the institution effectively took away administrative and decision-making authority from a popularly elected council and City Mayor. KCCA ended up with two arms – a weak political arm held by the opposition and a strong technical arm controlled by central government. These two arms are rarely coordinated and do take different positions on various issues.

In justifying the takeover of Kampala, the central government accused the opposition of ineptness and corruption, hence the poor service delivery to the public. Even if there was an ‘urban awakening’ in Uganda at the time, the central government’s attempt to improve

management and services in the capital city by taking direct control of its administration has remained highly controversial and the KCCA Act is clearly “antagonistic to Uganda’s broader decentralisation programme” (Gore & Muwanga, 2014:2203). KCCA took over budgeting, service delivery, planning and regulation- all functions previously performed by the KCC. As illustrated in figure 4.1 the CEO is appointed by the president (NRM Government) and is said to ‘accountable’ to the minister of Local Government. With respect to elections and citizen representations, a mayor is elected but is largely ceremonial (see figure 4.1). The elected representatives retain some authority to make and pass ordinances as members of KCCA, but, ultimately they only make recommendations that must be approved by the executive director of KCCA. Thus, the executive director of KCCA has acquired the most powerful policy tool - financial authority. Henceforth, the elected representatives lack fiscal autonomy- bearing a de facto unfunded mandate. Under the new system, all funds are administered by KCCA but only with the approval of the appointed and unelected executive director.

Most significantly, the reforms being implemented in Kampala suggest that the national government’s longstanding decentralisation programme is now ‘dead’ in the capital city (Gore and Muwanga, 2014). While the execution of this reform may produce immediate tangible service improvements in Kampala, the process of achieving this reform shows that the national government’s decision has not been motivated by a serious and historic effort to support the capital and to facilitate its maturity. Corruption in Uganda is documented to be endemic, and therefore was not just a KCC problem. But KCC had long been widely perceived as the most corrupt and inefficient body in Uganda. Gore and Muwanga (2014:2209) say “KCC could not collect taxes, effectively collect waste, fill potholes or approve building plans without a bribe”. Such were the concerns over KCC’s lack of transparency and accountability that in 2008 the World Bank stipulated the development of a Good Governance and Anti-Corruption Strategy (GGACS) for the city as a necessary requirement for the further release of development funds. According to Madinah, et al (2015:1), recentralisation in Kampala was a ‘necessary evil’ as the central government’s move to administer the capital had some practical merits- an increase in the financial resources available to the city, the capacity in the form of technical staff and improvement of social service delivery. However, even ordinary Ugandans fed up with KCC’s ineffectiveness still expressed misgivings on NRM’s administrative and technical arguments. Many people believe that NRM largely aimed to minimize Kampala-based opposition to national government priorities (Gore & Muwanga, 2014). Thus, while it is clear that recentralisation led to improving service delivery, it is also very certain that there are dissenting

voices on the real motives for KCCA Act of 2010. The immediate benefits may be visible in the short to medium term, but certainly, the long-term negatives will outweigh the short term benefits (Madinah et al, 2015).

4.3.6 Urban Governance in Kampala: Fluid relations and multiple loyalties

Goodfellow & Titeca (2012) argue that in theory, urban governance involves non-state players and the state working together in formally institutionalised ways to make collective decisions and provide urban services. However, in Kampala, with a highly informalized economy, the processes that underpin real governance often reflect informal bargaining power much more than formal institutional frameworks (Goodfellow, 2016). Increased political competition in Kampala has created an environment where informal groups seeking to protect their livelihoods can tactically leverage a high-level government and/or political intervention in their favour, helping them evade the policies and regulations of city government. In Kampala, since the 1990s, discourses of urban governance have progressively displaced earlier preoccupations with urban planning and management, reflecting an increasing recognition of the role of pluralistic politics and non-state players in running the city on a day-to-day basis (Goodfellow, 2013). Here the desire of informal economic players to retain some distance from state regulation, combined with the motivations of politicians seeking urban votes, have produced over time clientelistic linkages. In Kampala, formal state structures are relatively powerless because local power struggles often subvert and have continued to reshape key issues of urban development and management (Goodfellow & Kristof, 2012). Decentralisation and other institutional reforms intended to promote good urban governance have largely been superseded by clientelistic links between senior NRM and government officials like the President and particular urban groups, resulting in new forms of informal city governance. It is common practice that “many of the city’s workers increasingly secure their livelihoods in the city’s crowded informal economic sphere through exploiting their political significance” for political parties (Goodfellow & Kristof, 2012:2). Various community groups do shift loyalty, depending on temporal and political circumstances, with the ruling party offering the highest bids for political incentives as the NRM continues to face increasing political opposition.

According to Goodfellow and Kristof (2012), in Kampala, the proliferation of competing interests with a stake in urban governance has been exacerbated by decentralization, which introduced new local state players as well various private sector ones. This multiplicity of players is underpinned by power dynamics that have made both decision-making and policy implementation more contested and difficult. Among the many players competing for influence

and loyalty in the sphere of governance at city level are those earning a living in the urban informal economy. Kampala's informal economy has grown rapidly, reflecting a general trend towards increasing informality on the African continent (Lindell, 2010; 2008). One would argue that in the African city, 'informality matters' for development as it has now reached a high socio-economic status (demographic quantum) and can play such an important political role that no single government can completely ignore it (Chen, 2006). Moreover, Uganda in many ways represents one of the leading examples of economic informalization due to the massive growth of the sector in the past decades. This has had profound implications for the politics underlying 'real governance' in the city (Goodfellow, 2010; 2016). Various stakeholders, especially political parties, compete to prove their relevance to the groups working and earning a living in the informal sector. City authorities reach out to this large segment of the population and this challenges the existence of the legal and institutional set-up in Kampala.

4.3.7 Multipartyism and the politicisation of informality: The state of exceptionalism in Kampala

Uganda has moved from a system of 'no-party democracy' under the aegis of the NRM to a multiparty system. Both of these have had a major impact on state-society relations in Kampala (Goodfellow & Kristof, 2012). Since the introduction of multiparty democracy, candidates from opposition political parties have dominated the management of Kampala. This, combined with the pressures of multipartyism at the national level, increased the motivation for the President to interfere in city politics and overturn decisions made by Kampala City Council (KCC) if this was likely to boost his support among city-dwellers in an increasingly open political marketplace. Thus, a system of far-reaching decentralisation has been accompanied by central interference, rendering formal institutions of city government increasingly dysfunctional over time (Goodfellow, 2010). Although the city government was formally empowered by decentralization, it was at the same time disempowered by underfunding, the privatization of many of its functions and - above all - the constant intervention of central government. Indeed, urban governance in Kampala came to more closely resemble fragmentation and 'un-governance' Meagher (2010a) than a system of inclusive partnerships supported by an 'enabling' state system. Largely, central government interventions led to nullification of local decisions and actions, thereby, leading to a state of exceptionalism and institutional crisis on a number policy matters in Kampala (Goodfellow, 2010). Goodfellow & Kristof (2012:264) argue that the intervention by President Museveni into the controversial tax and regulation issues involving the largely informal "motorcycle taxi (boda-boda) drivers in Kampala benefits

both the informal groups and the President”. Both KCC and KCCA had to go against their policies and were instead forced by the President to ‘unregulate’ the boda-boda drivers in the City.

It is evident that politicians effectively treat informal economic groups as ‘vote banks’, as these groups wield important political capital (Titeca, 2006). Indeed, “in the transition to multiparty politics, the urban informal economy in Kampala has often become a sphere of intense political focus and competition” Lindell (2010), which leads politicians to offer a range of favours for informal groups in exchange for votes. Goodfellow & Kristof (2012) have found urban groups to be essentially or ‘captured’ through their informal interactions with elites, and it is important to recognise that “rather than being merely the prime law enforcer, the state may also suspend the law and resort to the 'state of exception', which itself can be seen as a technique of power.” (Lindell, 2010:17). Like the cases documented by Prag (2010) and Goodfellow (2016), many informal group empowerment activities in Kampala take the form of clientelism and actually go a long way in enabling informal players to continue pursuing their livelihoods. “The state and citizens in poor informal communities continue to relate in ways that seem to benefit both, and that a rule of exceptionalism is evidently in place when the state is dealing with the informal sector” in Kampala (Goodfellow & Kristof, 2012:15). In this context, being part of a group that ‘matters’ to the political leadership gives urban slum dwellers enhanced leverage to pursue their livelihoods unhindered by urban policies and regulations. This seems to create an alternative window for organised groups of urban residents to exploit and engage with state agencies for their benefits, and often outside of the legal frameworks.

While it is certainly true that many players apart from the city authorities are involved in governing the city, these are not always the players envisaged by formal governance models. Moreover, it is not only the NRM ruling party elites who have capitalised on the link with the urban informal groups: the groups themselves have manipulated each other in various ways and benefitted from it, raising questions about power dynamics involved in actual urban governance practices in Kampala (Goodfellow and Kristof, 2012). While in some cases informal linkages between urban economic groups and politicians are characterized as political co-optation and ‘capture’ (Meagher, 2010b), here it seems that the urban groups have done much of the ‘capturing’ themselves, securing political capital and attention for their own ends. The relations are not directly visible and loyalties can shift any time provided the conditions in the informal agreements are breached. There seems to exist an informal ‘binding’ contract that

loosely binds both state personalities/institutions and community individuals and social groupings.

Prior to the birth of KCCA in 2010, political interference had been ‘like a tradition’ in Kampala, often rendering the work of local officials a risky undertaking and virtually impossible. This is not to deny that “corruption among KCC officials was also a problem” (Goodfellow, 2010:1), and often leading to the converse situation whereby developers connived with senior officials to block planning efforts by local political players. According to Goodfellow & Kristof (2012), decentralisation and multiparty politics fundamentally shaped the bargaining environment in two critical ways. On the one hand, it exacerbated permissiveness on the part of the central government regarding the contravention of planning and regulation by economic elites. This can be understood both in terms of keeping NRM allies content through allowing them to pursue lucrative developments but also, in the view of some, “deliberately creating a situation that would discredit the opposition run city council as useless and corrupt” (Goodfellow, 2013:12). Equally important is the fact that the central government was envious of powers it had ceded to the opposition-led KCC, and this motivated central government politicians to engage with the urban poor by ‘protecting’ them from the local state and thereby securing their support as a political resource. Ultimately, each instance of an overruled regulation or disregarded plan reminded the urban population that the government was happy to waive formal rules in their favour. It also meant that “politicians were increasingly seeking legitimacy with social groups through ‘anti-planning’ interventions, creating a self-reinforcing dynamic of ineffective urban development control”, and leading to a systematic increase in under-regulated development in Kampala (Goodfellow, 2013: 12). Furthermore, Goodfellow (2016) maintains that throughout the 2000s, both elite and popular groups whose interests were threatened in the short term by urban plans or regulations could find a supporter within a state agency to aid them in exchange for financial or electoral support.

4.4 Conclusion

This chapter has argued that Kampala is a dynamic and rapidly changing African city. City planning and urban development during the post-colonial era has been influenced over time by the colonial project and the modernist ideals. Largely, the development of the City has occurred within the framework of master planning, top-down military regimes, and decentralised development policy environments. Post 2010 city management and state-society relations have been happening within a recentralised urban management system. The chapter has suggested that state-society relations have been occurring through various means— both formal and

informal. However, formal discourses and systems have been superseded by fluid clientelistic informal relations between powerful individuals and social groups on the one hand, and state personalities and political parties on the other. The chapter has also contended that multiple land tenure regimes have had a remarkable influence on city planning in Kampala. Having laid the basis for presenting the primary research findings, the following chapter will contain a synthesis of findings organised according to themes, as well as the research questions as outlined in chapter three.

The urban development and planning challenges in Kampala are diverse and interrelated. The challenges include burgeoning urban informality, urban poverty, poor service delivery, environmental related disasters, haphazard urban development and lack of transparent governance and urban management. The drivers of the challenges include unresponsive colonial-inspired urban planning, 'death of democracy', weak and unclear mandates of elected local government officials (local political leadership), and lack of a clear framework for public participation in municipal decision-making among others. These challenges and drivers are giving rise to alternative ways of state-society relations where both the state and city residents are exploring ways to improve relations, deliver services and improve planning and governance.

CHAPTER 5

RESEARCH FINDINGS – CO-PRODUCTION IN KAMPALA (UGANDA)

5.0 Introduction

This chapter presents the findings of research on the emergence and establishment of relations of co-production in the case study of Kampala. Relations of co-production focused on communities achieving the objectives of official recognition and service provision in informal settlements. Drawing on interviews, observations and related reports, it relates the sequence of events in these cases, dealing with the actions of communities, the NGO and the state and the relationships between them. These three entities (National Slum Dwellers Federation of Uganda (NSDFU) (the Federation), ACTogether (the NGO), and Kampala City Council, now Kampala Capital City Authority (KCCA) signed a Partnership Agreement to implement joint initiatives and constitute what will hereafter be referred to as ‘the Partnership’. It is cardinal to note that the Federation and the NGO do similar work and support each other, but the two are not the same. The three cases all fall within the City of Kampala: they are sites within the Nakawa division, the Kampala Central division and the Kawempe division (see chapter 3). The emergence of co-production from 2002 to the present can be periodised into four distinct phases of development and these phases structure the report on the research findings. This chapter presents the findings from the research, while the following chapter (6) interprets the findings according to the research questions directed at understanding the relations between the parties involved.

The rest of this chapter is divided into five sections. In the second section, the researcher explains the periodisation of co-production relations in the city of Kampala overall and in the three sub-cases. Section three contains narratives and observations recorded for the Kampala central division sub-case while section four details what happens in the Nakawa sub-case and section five presents the Kawempe sub-case. I conclude this chapter by using section six to summarise the key findings presented in this chapter.

5.1 Periodisation of the development of co-production: Distinguishing the time periods

Periodisation involves the categorisation of the past into discrete periods of time in order to facilitate the study and analysis of a particular history. Periods of time are defined on the assumption that these periods contained particular characteristics which differ from each other. In this research, the establishment and development of co-production in Kampala can be divided into four phases, from the initiation of the Partnership up until the end of the research in 2015. The current period is ongoing. Figure 5.1 indicates the periodisation of relations of

co-production in Kampala. The three timelines in Figure 5.1 indicate the shift in events in the three sub-cases of the overall Kampala case.

Shown in figure 5.1, the overall case of Kampala is used to study co-production relations across the City. In Kampala, the Partnership has undergone four major growth phases. The first phase is referred to by many research participants as the setting up phase. Co-production was first introduced in Kampala in 2002, and the period up to 2007 marks the time for formation and early growth of the Partnership in the City in particular and in Uganda in general. The phase is characterised by implementation of early co-production initiatives which saw the introduction and adoption of Slum Dwellers International (SDI) sanctioned methodologies and approaches to settlement upgrading and service delivery. During this period, co-production engagements were supported by the state through Kampala City Council (KCC) and the Ministry of Lands and Housing (MLH). The period is credited for the implementation of early city-based co-production activities that include enumerations, community savings, community infrastructural projects and building partnerships. This is a period of experimentation with co-production in Kampala. Respondents indicated that co-production activities were restricted to Kampala Central and Kawempe divisions of the City, and in the secondary city of Jinja. Human resource limitations, over-reliance on the Kenyan Federation and support NGO, are cited as reasons for limited geographical coverage in this first period.

The second phase of co-production engagements in Kampala is referred to by research participants as the “consolidation phase”. This phase marks the period when co-production methodologies were being strengthened, with the focus on capacity building and the refocusing of activities to include broader human settlement issues. During this period, co-production initiatives and relations were being supported by the then newly formed support NGO called ACTogether. ACTogether, a technical support NGO to the Federation, was formed in December 2006 and became operational in January 2007. In this period, a tripartite Partnership involving the state operating through the KCC, Federation and ACTogether was formed. Training and capacity building on all the SDI methodologies were enhanced by ACTogether. The Federation had its capacity built to a level where stakeholders could see it as a critical player in city development. Further growth involved activities meant to broaden the City co-production agenda from a narrow housing focus to promoting service delivery, knowledge generation, building infrastructure and structures for promoting accountability and transparency among partners. Furthermore, the period saw the emergence of management-related conflicts between the Federation and ACTogether.

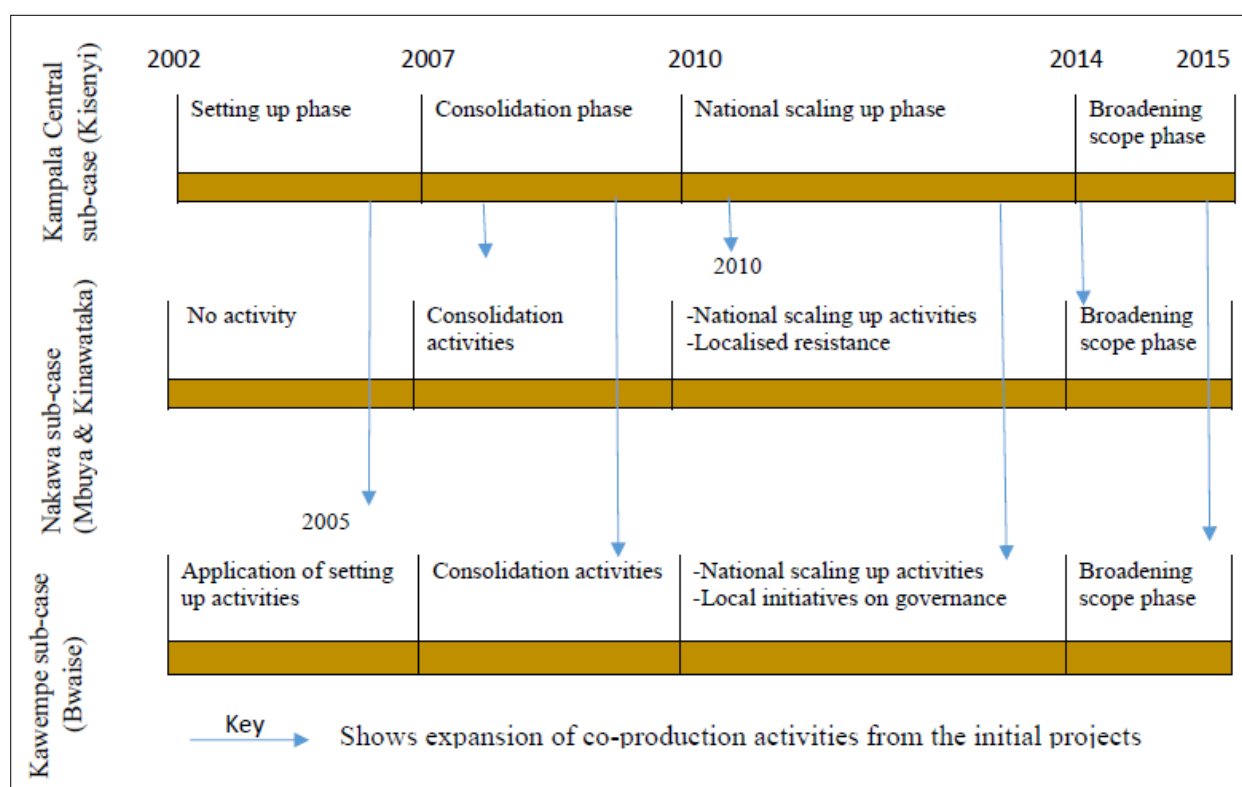


Figure 5.1: Periodisation of Co-Production in the City of Kampala
Field research, 2015 & 2016

The third phase involves the utilisation of a grown and mature Federation to implement large-scale co-production initiatives at national level. Many research participants called the third phase a national scaling-up phase which lasted between late 2010 and 2014. The phase involves the introduction of Transforming Settlements of the Urban Poor in Uganda (TSUPU) and Uganda Support to Municipal Infrastructure Development (USMID) projects in 2012 and 2014 respectively. Implemented in 14 secondary cities, these two co-production initiatives enabled the signing of MoUs, specific project agreements, and led to the introduction of Municipal Development Forums (MDFs) as a new governance initiative for Kampala. During the same period, many water and sanitation infrastructural projects were implemented. This period is described as a period of growth and transformation in the geographical and demographical reach of co-production activities in Kampala. On the one hand, this is the period when the relationship between state agencies and the Federation is at its best. On the other hand, the relationship between the NSDFU and ACTogether became more conflicted, leading to the forced resignation of the fifth Executive Director of ACTogether.

The fourth and on-going phase of Partnership activities and relations in Kampala is dubbed the phase of broadening scope. This phase begun in 2014 and remains the major guiding thread of the Partnership. The phase is about expanding the activity scope of co-production. In this phase, partners agree that to transform informal settlements, co-production activities must focus on both physical infrastructure and on boosting people's income. Thus, the phase sees a sustained joint focus on income generating activities. The partners focus on providing investment capital and capacity building in project design and management. Projects on loaning, mushroom production, poultry, briquette making and stationary production form key areas of co-production.

In the sub-case of the Nakawa division, the co-production process was introduced relatively late towards the end of 2009. However, major organised co-production engagements in Nakawa were launched in early 2010 and lasted to 2014. Thus, co-production engagements were initiated in Nakawa during the transition period from consolidation to national scaling-up phases in Kampala. As such, there are three phases of co-production in this division, the consolidation, national scaling-up and the broadening scope phases. The first phase involves Partnership-driven projects in water and sanitation as part of the ambitious city-wide projects in Kampala. The other project in this phase was part of a city-wide urban renewal programme where the redevelopment of Kinawataka market in the Nakawa division is a leading pilot project for the programme. Both projects fall within the national scaling-up phase. This sub-case is unique because it shows manifestations of diversity in the communities involved and the state. Research participants recount that co-production initiatives have faced the most daunting challenges insofar as mobilisation for action in Kampala is concerned. In this phase, co-production initiatives experienced localised resistance where various community groups in Kinawataka objected to the Partnership's methodologies and initiatives. Further, the projects show how state fragmentation shapes the Partnership's interventions and relations. The broadening scope phase, as shown in figure 5.1, follows the same pattern and structure as those in the overall case.

The sub-case of Kawempe division is one of the strongest areas of co-production engagement in Kampala. As shown in figure 5.1, the co-production activities were introduced in Kawempe during the setting up phase in the City. During this phase, the co-production activities in Kawempe involved mere mobilisation of groups but saw little project implementation. This was the case because the Partnership was focusing on the Kampala Central division, as the Federation was still small. The consolidation phase reflected what was happening in the overall

case of Kampala. However, in the later years of the consolidation period, co-production activities in the Kawempe division faced setbacks related to flaws in Federation governance at local level and challenges in the National leadership of ACTogether. This problem continued into the early years of the national scaling-up period (see figure 5.1). During the later years of the national scaling-up phase, conflicts induced by theft of Federation funds became wide spread and court cases ensued. This sub-case is different from the other two cases as it illustrates how strategies to promote transparency and accountability (ensure good governance) later provided opportunities for renewed growth and consolidation of co-production engagements in the division. The broadening scope phase in the division is not different from the experiences in the overall case. Having explained the timelines in the form of periodisation vis-à-vis growth and relations in co-production engagements in all the cases, I now use the next section to present the narratives and observations based on the overall case.

5.2 The Kampala Central division sub-case: Narratives and observations

As depicted in figure 5.1, co-production in the Kampala Central division sub-case is periodised in four phases. As this division was the first part of Kampala where co-production was initiated, some of this analysis also covers the initiative in Kampala and Uganda more generally.

5.2.1 Setting up phase

During the World Urban Forum (WUF) in May 2002 in Kenya, the Minister responsible for housing and urban development in Uganda engaged with the international president of SDI and made a request for SDI to visit Uganda and help government mobilise people living in informal settlements to facilitate joint interventions. Reports on the history of the Partnership and urban planning in Uganda indicate that this was a period when the influence of opposition political parties in Kampala was rapidly rising, and the National Resistance Movement (NRM) and the President were exploring every avenue to control the capital city - Kampala. Thus, some research participants argued that the Minister reached out to SDI to ensure improved relations between communities and the central government (Interview, Silver Michael Owere, ACTogether Official, 15/10/15). Later in the year, the SDI team, led by the global SDI President, Mr Jockin Arputham, with Federation members from South Africa and India, visited Kampala to start the Federation. This signalled that SDI was willing to partner with government in its quest to intervene positively in the informal settlements of Kampala, in particular and Uganda in general. During this visit, the first agreement was signed to create 'new spaces' and initiatives for the state and the people in informal settlements to co-produce infrastructural services and knowledge about slums in Kampala. New spaces involved creating community

planning platforms that included increased use of Local Council structures at urban village levels for community residents living in slums, and KCC, in order to jointly solve community problems (Interview, MDF President, Kampala Central, 12/10/15). This required local government structures to work with the Federation to come up with reports and proposals on settlement improvement. In the Kisenyi I, II and II, local leaders were among the first members of the saving groups, forming the Kisenyi Federation network. A network entails a group of savings at settlement scale working together to strengthen the SDI principles and practices. This process facilitated the first ever recognition and use of SDI methodologies and approaches to co-produce infrastructural services and urban knowledge in Kampala.

The early days of the Federation in Uganda were supported by the Ministry of Lands and Housing and the KCC. Accordingly, firstly, the Federation was jointly launched by the Minister of Lands and Housing and the President of Slum Dwellers International. Secondly, the launch was followed by a housing exhibition activity at Nakivubo Blue School grounds, where the Minister endorsed the SDI methodologies and approaches. Furthermore, the Minister asked the KCC to forthwith link the activities of the Federation with those of the municipal Community Development Office (CDO) and budget consultations to make use of the Federation structures. As such, municipal funding for Federation initiatives was assured, as City budgeting was required to factor in what the Federation was doing especially in the area of water and sanitation, land acquisition and preparation for construction of public infrastructure. During the launch, the Federation members numbered only twenty with the current Kampala Central Federation chairman, Mr. Balinda Edward, being one of the first key mobilisers for Kisenyi network.

Further support and capacity building came from a more experienced Federation movement and support NGO in Kenya. The Federation undertook a number of exchange activities to and from Kenya between 2003 and 2007. From 2003, there was close networking between the Federation and the Kenyan Mungano Wanavijiji Federation and its support NGO, the Pamoja Trust. The exchange activities were meant to provide support and capacity building to the Federation. As such, the Kenyan and Tanzanian Federation movements served as regional learning platforms for the Federation from 2002 to 2006. Supported by both the state and the international federation movement, the Federation created new innovations like enumeration tools for engaging with authorities. Understanding the City through community-led profiling, enumerations and mapping, raising funds for service delivery, project management, and

learning new ways of dealing with informal settlements constituted early co-production initiatives implemented by the Partnership. However, the adoption of these new tools of understanding communities and providing services by the technocrats in state agencies did face challenges of rigid City development frameworks, a politicised and partisan KCC and generally lack of accountability to the people in slums in the area of service delivery. Many research participants from both the Federation and Kampala Capital City Authority (KCCA replaced KCC in 2010, see chapter 4) indicated that during this period, KCC would demand bribes for nearly every service in communities. As such, communities faced major challenges, including poor solid waste management services and rampant corruption in land administration and transactions. The activities during this period show that Federation establishment and its subsequent roles during co-production engagements in Kampala were initiated by SDI. This means that the Uganda movement was formed from ‘outside’ of local communities. Both the organisation and its practices (savings, enumerations, and exchanges) were imported ideas from SDI. Thus, the tensions (to be detailed in the later chapters) between Federation rituals and the practices or desires of the various Federation branches in Kampala is around the management practices and systems that the SDI demands and imposes on the various branches of the Federation (Interview, Federation Secretary, Kisenyi Network (NSDFU), 20/10/15).

The state, through the KCC and Ministry of Lands and Housing, and the early Federation leaders, implemented their first co-production project through community-led profiling, enumeration and mapping exercises from 2002-2003. In the first joint project, KCC assigned the office of the CDO, and community-based municipal staff, called Parish Administrators, to closely work with the Federation during enumerations. Possibly because of the influence and pressure from central government, KCC linked Local Council One (LC One) leaders and introduced the Federation to households and the purpose of the enumerations. The ruling party and opposition political parties had to ‘work together’. The LC One leaders assumed key leadership positions in the Federation and have always played a key role in sustaining Federation activities in Kampala. For example, the LC one leaders occupied strategic positions like the National Chairperson of the Federation and regional leadership positions such as Kisenyi 1 leaders. These leaders know how to straddle between state and community spaces and structures in order to advance the interests of the Federation. The Federation implemented the enumeration activity and produced the reports for decision making and service delivery. SDI and the mature Federations in Kenya and Tanzania provided funding and technical support respectively in areas of data collection and report writing. In the end, the enumeration report

for the Kisenyi network was used by Ministry of Lands and Housing, KCC and the Federation to initiate early upgrade activities in Kisenyi. This marked a shift from top-down to community-led and Partnership-based approaches in the way Kampala was understood. During the enumeration exercise, state agencies considered the residents of Kisenyi area as a productive stakeholder that could contribute positively to the way slums were understood and managed. This was evidenced by the fact that the state at local level began to use the enumeration reports to guide interventions in the informal settlements.

This enumeration was the first to specifically target on documentation of slums and was useful for partners to understand the significance of community-led data collection in understanding slums. The processes assisted government and stakeholders to appreciate the extent of development challenges affecting Kisenyi network in particular and other slum communities in the City. Later, these reports served as guiding instruments for settlement recognition and interventions by both the state and Community residents.

Interview, Mr. Hassan Kiberu, (National Chair, NSDFU), 13/10/2015.

Later on, with ACTogether as a lead organisation, the Partnership worked to introduce daily savings as a means to mobilise the community to grow the Federation for more co-production engagements. During the formation of saving groups, while the Federation was the major actor, KCC did encourage its lower structures at community level to support and to be active savers. Savings groups mean low level structures of the Federation, or the NSDFU, to which mobilised community residents belong and practice SDI rituals such as participating in exchange visits, knowledge generation, and contributing money to save for daily needs and for growing the Federation national funds. In Kisenyi, formation of savings groups was always preceded by profiling and enumerations as a basis for understanding the community before engaging in any co-production initiative. There was a close link between savings and the nature of infrastructural projects done by the partners in Kampala. During this period, mobilisation for savings was done in the Kampala Central, Kawempe and Jinja regions. The Federation was using the ritual of savings to popularize the movement in the City.

The first ever large scale joint physical project in Kampala was undertaken in 2004 to improve water and sanitation for the people of Kisenyi III network. The Partnership decided to go into physical settlement upgrading solutions to record quick wins for the community and government and to use such projects as pilots that could be replicated in other areas. According to the narrations from the research participants, after enumerating Kisenyi III, it was revealed to partners that Kisenyi III network represented a typical informal settlement in Kampala. KCC

and the Ministry considered the area as the most underdeveloped in terms of social and housing services. At the time, the Federation Movement in Kampala was young and weak, hence, KCC councillors in consultation with the Ministry and the SDI global President decided on behalf of the people to implement first physical Partnership projects in the Kisenyi network. Being part of the early mobilisation activities in Kampala, community residents from Kisenyi I and Kisenyi II supported the project with the hope of receiving similar investments. They contributed to the projects in terms of free labour as per Federation practices in project implementation. After the first project was constructed, residents and Federation members from surrounding communities demanded construction of similar projects in Kisenyi I and II but the state did not make available additional funds for land purchase and projects as demanded by the residents and Federation members in two other settlements.

Despite having started saving in the Federation groups, many residents decided to quit the Federation when projects in housing, water and sanitation were no longer a real possibility. This led to some sort of decline in community enthusiasm regarding what the Partnership could actually deliver for people.

Interview, Mr. Waiswa Kakaile, (Engineer, ACTogether), 27/04/2016.

People demanded better housing, secure tenure, running water taps, good roads, toilets, and clean environments. Many research participants recounted that during the setting up phase, a strong feeling of entitlement for housing among the Federation members emerged. However, there were no physical projects that targeted development of free housing for the Federation members especially those who had become active in their respective saving groups. This was so because KCC did not commit to providing free housing, which was a key expectation of community in which joint activities were being implemented.

Expectations for free housing for members of the saving groups were high because from the very beginning, housing was used as a mobilisation strategy. There were fundamental politics where community-state relations were poor. There was need for a radical strategy to make people join the Federation and participate in the Partnership activities. Jockin, the SDI president, publicly told KCC, Ministry and communities that he was going to develop the community in Kisenyi III in three years. As such, people expected housing as a way of developing the community.

Interview, Mr. Waiswa Kakaile, (Engineer, ACTogether), 27/04/2016.

Additionally, in some cases, KCC did not agree to endorse some settlements on land that the KCC considered was illegally occupied and belonged to private individuals and organisations. Up until now, land ownership and use rights-related conflicts between the City government and the Federation have continued to create disputes between the Federation and the now Kampala Capital City Authority (KCCA). KCCA has continued to evict the residents and Federation members who trade or settle on land owned by private individuals and organisations. The Federation has continued to oppose all manner of evictions through the use of profiling, enumerations and mapping of all slums in Kampala. The enumerations have provided details on the dangers faced by people living in the slums of Kampala. During the setting up phase, the failure to come up with housing solutions was beginning to create a sense of frustration among community members.

The other activity that characterised the setting up phase was the implementation of local and international exchange activities¹⁶. The Partnership needed to learn from experienced cities from within East Africa and globally. Initially, it was hard for partners to understand what co-production was all about. The methodology was new and difficult to comprehend among the partners. The partners had to implement a series of exchange activities in-country and internationally to share and learn how others had been working and succeeding. As such, the Partnership has since 2003 used exchange programmes to shift minds and change values and perceptions on how a pro-poor urban development agenda can be sustained through Partnerships with organised community residents in the slums. Many Federation members recounted that they did not have the monopoly of knowledge on all issues of settlement upgrading and therefore needed exchange activities to learn from the innovations developed by other Federation movements and groups. Exchange programmes were an eye-opener for both government and community members. As such, since 2003, the Partnership members have been participating in exchange activities where knowledge has been gained over time in various co-production activities such as partnership building, savings, enumerations, land access and tenure issues, and alternative building technologies. The exchanges have always been planned in such a way that representatives from different state agencies have been involved. The Federation used exchange programmes to build rapport and solidify their relationships with state officials including top politicians. For example, in 2004, leaders from the Federation, a structural engineer from ACTogether; and a structural engineer and planner from KCC and Ministry for Works went to Kenya and Tanzania to specifically learn about the use of

¹⁶ http://ACTogetherug.org/index.php/features/exchange_10/05/2016

alternative building technologies for the purposes of applying such knowledge in the construction of the inaugural water and sanitation project in Kisenyi.

After an exchange on alternative building materials, the Ministry for Works became one of the negotiators and advocates for KCC to allow the use of alternative building materials to construct water and sanitation facilities in Kampala. As such ACTogether and the Federation used the exchange creatively to convince state technical staff to allow the use of construction technologies and materials produced by the Federation.

Interview, Mr. Waiswa Kakaile, (Engineer, ACTogether), 8/02/2016.

During this period, local exchange activities were meant to promote learning from new and old Federation groups within Uganda. As such, the Federation's activities in the Kisenyi network proved to be a good learning centre for other groups in the Kampala Central, Nakawa and Kawempe divisions. The research participants from the Federation argue that the principle aim of doing exchange activities is to empower people who have not gone to school to understand and implement what they desire to achieve for their households and communities. Many respondents explained that the Federation had many members, especially women, who had no formal education, but who possessed a strong desire to learn and live productive lives. Based on content in reports such as the 17th SDI East African Hub report¹⁷, it is evident that through exchange programmes, people participate in activities to ensure cross-breeding of ideas, cross-learning and innovation on all themes that the Partnership has been engaging in. There were different types of exchange visits implemented by the Partnership between 2002-2007. Sara Nandodu, a Federation official, explains:

Firstly, there are Peer to peer learning exchanges which involve local and international saving groups. The Federation members in Kisenyi network, members of interim national Federation leadership, visited Kambimoto saving group in Kenya to learn about savings and loaning activities. Secondly, the Federation implemented network level exchange visits which involved Federation members at settlement level visiting with a focus on projects like managing water points, poultry projects, mushroom, and management of community infrastructure among others. Purpose is to learn and improve on local projects. The Kisenyi III network exchanged with many other networks such as the Soweto Network in Jinja. The third category of exchanges involves region to region- where we had visits to learn how regional-based Federation activities were achieving gains within the East African Hub involving Kenya, Tanzania and Uganda. The fourth category is about international exchange here the Partnership participated in

¹⁷ <file:///C:/Users/Administrator/Downloads/17th%20E.A%20HUB%20REPORT.pdf/15/05/16>

internationally organised exchange programmes. They included programmes organised by Un-Habitat and SDI. The Partners visited and hosted visitors from other SDI member countries.

Interview, Sara Nandodu, (National Leader, NSDFU), 06/02/016.

However, the setting up phase suffered setbacks in two major areas: limited community members, institutions and city policies were not aligned with the new methodologies and, while many community residents were joining the Federation, some did not join and others were leaving. The Partnership was young and unsure about what and where to focus to achieve change at a scale that matched the extent of the challenge. For example, community mobilisation only happened in the Kisenyi network from 2002 to 2004. In late 2004, partners then expanded to Jinja to mobilise the communities and implement community-led profiling, enumerations and mapping activities, and later to secure land for housing development. ‘Enumerations have one key function: to promote collective action for active citizenship in communities of the urban poor, and to build the capability to act together’¹⁸. Then in 2005, the partners moved to Kawempe division within Kampala and did community-led profiling, enumerations and mapping activities. There was a significant emphasis on the need to target housing for the people in informal settlements. However, besides the water and sanitation projects in the Kisenyi network, there were no other physical infrastructural projects in the two other divisions. This led to a declining faith by some communities in what co-production initiatives could actually achieve in Kampala.

While there was a high level of political support through the Minister’s office, the institutions, planning laws and policies had not changed to recognise the ‘national political shifts’ in dealing with informal settlements in the City. Many respondents recounted that the technocrats were not receptive to the proposals and found it hard to actualise what the Federation wanted to achieve. Many respondents from ACTogether and the Federation recounted that at the time, KCC was not driven by the need to provide services for the people, especially in informal settlements, but rather on maintaining a grip on power to continue governing the City. Thus, much time was spent on fighting political battles between the ruling party (NRM) and the councillors and the mayor who belonged to the opposition political party. Divisions were visible within the Partnership as the Federation argued that KCC was not helpful during the early days of the Federation especially when it came to physical projects and services delivery (Interview, Federation Treasurer, Kisenyi Network-NSDFU, 10/10/15). There was no

¹⁸ <http://ACTogetherug.org/index.php/features/profiling-enumeration-mapping/15/11/16>

municipal and legal institutional realignment, and funding was not increased to accommodate the need to fund projects and activities initiated by the Partnership. Mobilised and enumerated communities came up with numerous proposals to improve water and sanitation, housing, security, and health among other aspects. However, the KCC and the Ministry of Lands and Housing did not respond to unlock land for pro-poor investments, and increase financing. It was also reported by the research participants that during the first phase of co-production in Kampala, KCC was using conventional approaches to city planning and development programmes through the use of existing laws and financing frameworks. This created opportunities for ‘hold-ups’ in the newly formed Partnership, leading to early low level conflicts in the federation-state relations during settlement upgrading.

In response to the state’s failure to respond to people’s expectations, the Federation produced reports to communicate the frustrations, complaints and anger that people in slums had against the state. The residents also resisted evictions by speaking vocally and strongly against the state oscillating positions how to deal with slums. Complaints and engagements to resist evictions were directed at the Mayor’s office. They complained that efforts from the community was not being matched with support from government. After realizing that KCC and the Ministry were not providing more land and resources for projects, the Federation raised their own funds to buy cheap land outside Kampala. However, the City Authority did not support the initiative because the proposal was to buy land outside of Kampala, beyond the authority’s jurisdictions. This further frustrated the Federation and community residents especially in Kisenyi I, II and III networks.

Interview, Mr. Waiswa Kakaile, (Engineer, ACTogether), 27/04/2016.

In addition, evictions of people from some informal settlements still continued. As such, while being members of the Partnership, state agencies were operating in two spheres, the Partnership sphere and the old state sphere. However, while the national political arm of the state (ruling party) sought peaceful and positive engagements with residents of informal settlements, policies, laws, financing and local government system had lagged behind. This created sustained conflicts between the Federation and state. Further, the Federation was spending most of the time engaging in technicalities at the expense of implementing projects. The Minister was supportive and pushed for practical changes on how the state engaged people in informal settlements in Kampala and other cities. While the Minister is no longer serving in government, the MoU remains the overarching framework governing ACTogether and state engagements in Uganda.

The next section will present co-production activities during the consolidation phase.

5.2.2 Consolidation of co-production engagements in Kampala Central division

From the initial knowledge and service co-production engagements implemented in the setting up phase, the partners focused on strengthening the Partnership to increase the geographical and demographic reach. The phase starting from 2007-2010 had to redefine the focus areas of the Partnership and to increase the mobilisation of communities and thus be able to intervene with more activities. The first major addition to this phase was the formation of the Federation-supported non-governmental organisation called ACTogether in December 2006 and the addition of the national Department of Urban Development to the Ministry of Lands and Housing (MLH) as Partnership members in the same year. The Department for Urban Development was a new creation to expand the earlier mentioned MLH to include a dedicated Department to deal with issues of urbanisation and planning. As such, the department became responsible for all urban development policy issues, including slum upgrading. In fact, the Department was created to popularise and operationalise inclusive urban development initiatives nationally and among the key policy achievements is the formulation of the Slum Upgrading Policy of 2007 which included upscaling SDI methodologies in Uganda. There was a need to promote partnership-based urban development models and these included use of public-private partnerships for providing infrastructural services and consolidation of the SDI methodologies. There was an intention to make urban development people-centred with special focus on addressing poor living conditions in the slums. So Uganda was rather unique in this sense, relative to most other African countries.

At the same time, ACTogether was formed because the Partnership believed that communities were spending too much time dealing with upgrade technicalities, at the expense of engaging in actual co-production of services and knowledge. As such, in 2007 when the NGO became operational, major technicalities in the Partnership were dealt with by the NGO. The NGO further worked to build capacity among the partners on the application of co-production methodologies to ensure successful application of SDI methodologies to promote productive state-society relations. However, the operationalisation of ACTogether brought about competition for operational space between the NGO and the Federation within the Partnership. Tensions arose because the Federation leaders and members saw themselves as official SDI representatives in Uganda. During the time, the Federation was responsible for mobilizing communities to support co-production initiatives. As such, the Federation leaders were individuals who could exercise power and influence to control Partnership resources and projects. Some NGO representatives recounted that when ACTogether was trying to put in

place systems for promoting accountability, transparency and sustainability, such as demanding project and financial reports, the Federation leaders reacted negatively and demanded greater decision-making space. In Kisenyi III, conflicts have continued until now, as the Federation has continued to object to ACTogether's involvement in the management of the initial water and sanitation facility. As a result of this hostility between the Federation and ACTogether in Kisenyi III, co-production systems in the area are still weak.

We have more experience than the NGO. We existed first and we were able to implement projects without them. So, the Federation knows exactly what it is supposed to do to transform slums in Kampala. We have the decision-making mechanisms and capacity. We do not need to be told what to do by anybody, including the NGO.

Interview, Mr. Hassan Kiberu, (National Chairman, NSDFU), 13/10/2015.

The arguments by Mr Kiberu reveal the complex relations that underpin and affect decision-making in the Partnership. Figure 5.2 summarises the interactions within the Federation system and between the Federation, ACTogether and the state.

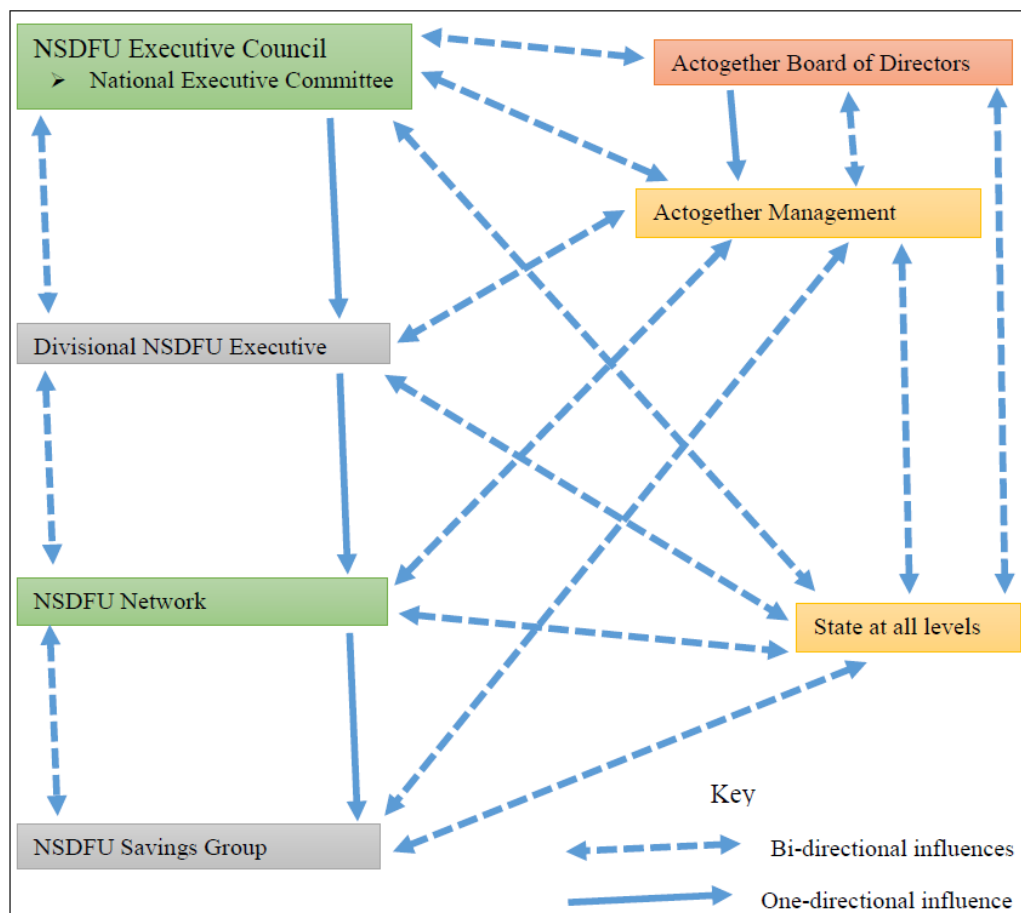


Figure 5.2: Co-production decision-making interactions in Kampala, Fieldwork, 2015

Narratives from the National Executive Council (NEC) members indicate that the Federation has a clear governance structure which, arguably, promotes accountability to the grassroots (see figure 5.2). Based on a review of minute records and representation during Federation and ACTogether joint meetings (this researcher attended two weekly meetings), the Federation is governed by structures clustered at group, network, regional and national levels. As depicted in figure 5.2, the highest decision-making organ of the Federation is the National Executive Council. The NEC is composed of members who belong to specific savings groups and are nominated and seconded by the general membership of the Federation based on their commitment to the Federation's ideals. The NEC includes an organ called the National Executive Committee, comprising the National Working Group (NWG) which makes decisions on a day-to-day basis to guide the operations of the Federation. The NEC is chosen from the regional Federation leaders, again based on commitment to the SDI's rituals and practices (see chapter 2). The power and influence of NEC is pervasive and provide everyday strategic leadership to the entire Federation movement in Uganda. The NEC gives policy direction in a deliberative process, with the lower regional Federation leadership. NEC communicates the national policy principles, directives and capacity building programmes through regional Federation leaders during weekly meetings involving the Federation and ACTogether. On the other hand, lower level Federation structures have weekly meetings during which they implement programmes such as capacity building, savings, and documentation. These weekly meetings at both lower and higher levels of the Federation provide opportunity for bi-directional interactions. The second way of communicating national Federation programmes and policies involves executive orders through enforcement of Federation rules and practices as promulgated by SDI. Communication of all types from the communities (savings groups) to the national Federation leadership goes through the channel as depicted in figure 5.2. It should be noted that many decisions such as management of group savings, local level conflict resolution is a preserve of the local Federation leadership. Narratives from the research participants from the Federation members indicate that higher level Federation structure such as the NEC would only come in when indecision exists and when conflicts begin to escalate in the savings groups (Interview, Kawempe Chairman NSDFU, 16/10/45). Each level of the Federation organisation/structure is required to report about its activities to the structure above it.

Furthermore, decision-making in the Federation at all levels is influenced by the relationship between ACTogether and the Federation. For example, ACTogether provides training to all

Federation members and leaders at all levels, collaborates with the Federation at all levels during proposal development for funding among others. ACTogether equally interacts with devolved Federation structures when implementing projects at local level. For example, technical staff employed by ACTogether are mandated to provide technical guidance to the devolved Federation structures when implementing development projects. The decision-making process and spaces of ACTogether are influenced by the Board of Directors. It should be noted that many Board members of ACTogether are members of the Federation and they belong to specific savings groups. For example, the National Chairman of the NSDFU is a member of the Board of ACTogether but he still saves with his group in Kisenyi 1 area. The board exercises power to influence the operation of ACTogether but equally gets submissions from both the Federation Executive Council and Management team of ACTogether (represented in the Board by the Executive Director). Many research participants revealed that decision-making processes are never linear during co-production relations and activities. External influences on the decisions of the Federation and ACTogether include the funders and state agencies at all levels. As shown in figure 5.2, the state interacts with the Federation at all levels and vice versa.

Thus, during the consolidation phases at city-scale (all cases, see figure 5.1), the Federation had increased capabilities of its members and this increased the capacity of the Partnership to implement co-production initiatives at city scale. Firstly, city-wide profiling, enumerations and mapping were done to inform partners of the extent and nature of urban informality, potential evictions, and potential dangers to human life. Thus, enumerations were carried out as an on-going city learning activity to guide service delivery for people in slums. This involved widespread use of SDI tools that involved mobilised communities in Kampala Central, Nakawa and Kawempe divisions. Enumerations by the Partnership were used to map partner-contribution for future large scale projects in the City. For example, the enumeration activities in Kalimali in Kawempe division and Mbuya in Nakawa division led to the players identifying local land owners and Barefoot Energy Services (private energy firm) as critical players in planning and implementing water and sanitation projects in the named areas. Furthermore, the reports provided baseline information to guide investment initiatives by the Partnership in Kinawataka in the Nakawa division. The enumerations during this period were also meant to broaden the scope of slum recognition by members of the Partnership, especially the City authorities.

To create opportunity for joint slum interventions, enumerations became one of the key focus areas for the Partnership to build an informed grassroots movement that knows its

responsibilities and rights, and can speak to dynamic power elements with confidence and engages with city development players in a productive manner.

Interview, Mr. Stephen Bogere, (Senior Sociologist, MLHUD), 08/10/2015.

We used enumerations to understand the type and class of people we are working with across the City. The methodologies helped us in the sensitization processes and enabled the Partnership to engage more with communities. In some cases, we have slums with rich people while other areas have residents who really need support. The tools were helpful in guiding decisions on projects, approach and community engagement strategies. The reports filled the information gap and enabled Partnership to effectively link with the community on service delivery. The reports have enabled some members of the Partnership to speak the language of the local people and connect well. It is correct to argue that enumerations created the foundations for more Partnership projects in Uganda in general and Kampala in particular.

Interview, Mr Stephen Byangaba, (Chairman, LC 1, Kinawataka area,) 12/02/16.

Knowledge co-production about informal settlements in Kampala was essential to organise residents and get the people in informal settlements to appreciate their local environments and vice versa. This is so because every enumeration and mapping activity was preceded by a sensitization programme that sought to make the exercise community driven, and get the support of local government leaders (See chapter four: Context) who include Local Council One Officials at settlement level (LC 1), Parish Administrators, regional councillors and regional municipal staff. Every profiling, and enumeration was done for a purpose. For example, in 2010 through to 2011, the Partnership did profiling, enumerations and mapping in the Mbuya network of Kampala Central to understand the relationship between tenure security and shop ownership before the launch of the urban renewal programme in the area in 2012. The Partnership used enumerations to generate evidence-based interventions in matters of service delivery, land tenure, settlement recognition, alternative construction technologies and conflict resolution mechanisms. During phase two, enumerations created a new and alternative knowledge base for the City, and broadened the geographical and policy frameworks for settlement recognition in Kampala. As such the support to do enumerations for effective Partnership has been an important aspect of the Partnership.

The Partners believed that a blind person cannot lead another blind person. You need to bring the partners to a certain level where all of them can begin to appreciate and understand Kampala's urban situation. The state needs to appreciate the circumstances and dreams of the

people in the slums while residents should appreciate the position of government. Thus, enumerations, profiling and mapping activities became very crucial in determining the extent of the challenge and collectively define a better future for all.

Interview, Mr. Samuel Mapala, (Country Team Leader, Cities Alliance), 14/10/2015.

In Kampala central, we used our enumeration reports to determine the relationship between the capacity to pay for water services and the sources of income for people in the area. The report established that poor people in slums fail to clear accumulated monthly bills. As such, later on the Partnership introduced pre-paid infrastructure in water services in the Kisenyi network. While regulating domestic water use, many residents in the area are now managing to pay for the services while NWSC has increased the level of efficiency in levy collections.

Interview, Mr. Jerald Habwe, (Official, MLHUD), 17/10/15.

Knowledge generation through profiling, enumeration and mapping has continued to provide the residents of informal settlements with the ammunition to engage with authorities. The enumeration reports have provided meaning to certain key concepts and arguments such as inadequate housing, water and sanitation deficits, pollution and inclusive governance. As such, enumerations and profiling have continued to empower local populations with knowledge and provide a platform for engaging with the authorities. The enumeration processes document ground-based realities as there is strong local input which makes the process truly grassroots-driven and empirical. The data and reports have sometimes been similar to what the government holds, but deviates greatly in certain circumstances. For example, there was a clear disagreement between the Federation and the officials from the Ministry of Lands, Housing and urban Development (MLHUD) on the sampling process during enumerations, and on the criteria proposed to define inadequate housing in all the settlements enumerated. ACTogether and the Federation argue that there is a need to count everybody and produce reports depicting what actually happens in the communities. This view is contested as the state (KCCA and MLHUD) do not agree with comprehensive enumerations and who also question the credibility of the methodologies and reports. This has resulted in individuals working in the state agencies concerned considering the reports useful, but only in informal ways - a situation that angers the Federation. The individuals working for state agencies indicated that the reports lack rigour in their data collection methods, use and definition of concepts such as 'adequate housing' in ways that contradict the way the Uganda National Bureau of Statistics conceptualises them. The Federation argued that the ultimate goal of enumerations is to guide all partners in decision making and project design to transform communities. As such, to make the reports binding to

all the partners, the Federation has given in to the demands by MLHUD to include the Uganda National Bureau of Statistics as a participant during the enumerations and report writing. The generation and ownership of valid knowledge about Kampala remains contested.

It is observed that the implementation of enumeration activities in Kampala is affected by competing interests, policy contradictions and methodological divisions among the partners. For example, officials from MLHUD indicated that the official citing of enumeration reports can only be done if the Uganda National Bureau of Statistics approves them. However, the officials indicated that they often relied on enumeration reports when making decisions that concern slums in Kampala. On the other hand, from 2010 onwards, an independent Kampala Capital City Authority (KCCA) through the Directorate of Gender, Production and Marketing, adopted many of the reports produced by the Partnership as major informants in the design of projects in Kampala.

During the consolidation phase, through city-wide community-led knowledge generation and sharing, there were challenges that included isolated cases of resistance from different segments of local communities.

In Kinawataka, some groups in the area were initially against us and never wanted to have the enumerations to happen. The landlords (not all of them are Federation members) suspected that we would take their land, or we would use the enumerations to introduce new taxes. After talking to the Local Council One chairman, the partners were later allowed by the vendors and residents to do enumerations but the Partnership has failed over the years to secure adequate community support for market redevelopment.

Interview, Mr Rubega Idris, (National Leader, NSDFU), 13/10/2016.

The Partnership also used savings as a means to consolidate the Partnership through increased support from the communities. It was realised that there was a need to get more communities to support the Partnership in order to increase resources in readiness for upscaling, in geographical and demographical terms. As such, mobilisation through savings formed what many respondents referred to as the lifeline of the Partnership in Kampala. Between 2007 and 2012, savings provided the logic for community mobilisation and organisation as well as for the basis for allegiance by community residents to the Partnership.

‘ACTogether encourages and supports urban poor communities to get organised around Savings and loans schemes. Members can save for building a house, securing tenure, implementing a development project in to improve their living environment, or for their own

individual purposes. According to ACTogether's approach, the loan proposal, proposal vetting, loan sanctioning and daily savings collections are the community savings groups' entire responsibility'¹⁹.

The philosophy behind the savings in Kampala has been about self-determination and self-management. The idea of daily savings became consolidated among the Partners during the consolidation phase and continue to grow and shape the growth of the Partnership and is the anchor of the relationship between the government and the Federation.

Interview, Sara Nandodu, (National Leader, NSDFU), 6/02/2016.

The daily savings groups were first introduced in 2002 while saving for the Uganda Urban Poor Fund, named the Suubi, was launched in Kampala in 2010. Daily savings²⁰ were introduced as means of mobilising both resources and people for Partnership-based settlement upgrading. On the other hand, Suubi is a national basket fund for large scale projects and it is considered by the national SDI leadership and the NGO to be a strategic funding mechanism for upscaling innovations by the Partnership.

The Suubi fund is a national initiative managed by the National Federation Council on behalf of all the Federation members in Uganda. The Fund has helped the Partners to pull together large amount of resources that have later on been used to match external funds from government and donors for large scale communal infrastructural and livelihood projects. The groups that are more active in the Suubi account easily compete for the funds from KCCA and ACTogether.

Interview, Irene Namaganda, (Official, ACTogether), 15/02/2016.

The Fund formed part of the Partnership consolidation initiative and has been described as a ground-breaking initiative for Kampala. The initiative consolidated the reputation for the Partnership in the eyes of government and international partners. It was observed that all the saving groups in Kampala have group-based regulations and constitutions to keep them in line with the practices of the national and international Federation practices. Observations and a review of group minutes for Nakawa, Kampala Central and Kawempe divisions indicate that Federation members are required to attend weekly meetings and are expected to contribute

¹⁹ <http://ACTogetherug.org/index.php/features/savings/20/11/16>

²⁰ 100 shillings is the daily savings contribution for individual Federation Members (100 Ugandan shillings = 0.28 US\$ December 10th 2016. Average monthly household income in Kampala 2009/10 was 959,400 U shillings = 268.73 US \$ (Uganda Bureau of Statistics).

money to the daily and Suubi²¹ savings accounts. The immediate past Commissioner for Urban Development, Mr. Samuel Mapala, emphasised that the 100 Shillings daily savings is a possible mechanism for a breakthrough in dealing with informal settlements in the City. The Suubi fund has, over the years, been used to access financial capital for large-scale community projects and to boost people's incomes through Income Generating Activities (IGAs) and projects, and to address the water and sanitation challenges in various slums. Records contained in some of the most successful saving groups for the Federation in Kampala such as Ram Computers, Youth Action, and Banda Worker's, indicate that there is no fixed amount required by the NSDFU for group members to save per day towards their daily savings.

The management of daily savings is devolved to the lowest level of the Federation. Each savings group chooses its leaders, based on their commitment to the Federation's activities. The collector, treasurer and secretary of each group are responsible for collecting and banking the daily savings. Each saver has a savings book in which all personal transactions, including deposits and withdrawals are recorded and counter signed by the three signatories and the saver. After collection, the funds are supposed to be deposited in a registered commercial bank. It is worth noting that the bank account for daily savings is managed by local Federation members. Theft of the savings has been recorded when one of any of the signatories would not counter-sign the deposit and when banking was delayed. Theft and abuse of daily savings was recorded in all the sub-cases in Kampala. A report on daily savings is always presented during regional and national Federation meetings and this is used as a show of proof for capacity to raise and manage funds for personal and community development programmes. Regarding the Suubi savings, the local savings group mandates the collector, treasurer and secretary with the responsibility to collect and deposit the Suubi contributions by individuals in a national account managed and controlled by the national leaders of the NSDFU (National level). The Suubi account is conceived as a mechanism of cumulatively building the financial assets of the NSDFU for use to enhance infrastructure at scale across Uganda. However, respondents from Kisenyi said they needed to manage both Suubi funds and project-based finances locally rather than send the funds to the National office of the Federation. This goes against the rules of the NSDFU (led by the national leadership structure, the NEC) and ACTogether, who demand that members of Federation groups can only access capital for projects if they commit to the ideals of the Suubi fund. The concerns raised by community groups were supported by the

²¹ The members across Kampala are required to save a 100 Ugandan Shillings per day for Suubi.

representatives from the Ministry of Lands, Housing and Urban Development. Furthermore, the 100 Ugandan Shillings per day was initially a proposal by the immediate past Commissioner for Urban Development, but was later adopted by the Partnership. Some representatives from the Ministry further argued that the funds must be managed by another, independent, organisation. As such, in all the groups, mistrust of fund management related to Suubi has resulted in most groups contributing more to daily personal savings and less to the Suubi Fund. This has been fuelled by accusations and counter accusations of poor communication by members of the Partnership.

We do not look much into your private savings, but we encourage you to save and if you do not save, then you cannot benefit from some of the Partnership programmes and you will not have access to loans for personal use and community projects. In the Banda Workers group, only six out of 40 members save both for Suubi and daily activities. As such, the six who save for Suubi benefited from KCCA grant.

Interview, Sara Nandodu, (National Leader, NSDFU), 6/02/2016.

Both Suubi and daily savings have been an important thread for uniting the partners and creating opportunities for co-production. Edith, a Member of the Federation National Executive Council (NEC), summarised the notable contributions of the savings during the consolidation phase as follows:

You should understand that savings have made the federation to grow. The ritual has motivated for meetings and helped the community come together and understand one another. In addition, savings in Kampala have facilitated discussions on community development and negotiation for solutions in areas like solid waste management, sanitation, water, education, gender based violence and security. We are mobilised through savings and we now implement projects with KCCA technical and political staff. Almost every week, we have public cleanings to reduce solid waste in our communities. The other benefit of savings is that the community is profiled and relevant authorities know what actually happens in our communities. Being a mobilised group has made us engage with authorities on issues of community governance. Finally, savings have provided the basis for budgetary allocations to community-led problem solving in the slums of Kampala.

Interview, Edith, (National Leader, NSDFU), 06/02/2016.

Since its introduction, the Suubi Fund has been used by the Partnership as a lobbying strategy for increased pro-poor funding for projects. Without savings, the Partnership would have not been able to up-scale projects to the city-wide-scale. Many respondents argued that savings have made the government re-profile the image of people in the slums, with a consolidated

positive argument that this population is not all about vice, law breaking, and land encroachments, as was claimed in the past. The 2016 annual newsletter²² indicates that partners have made key state agencies, particularly KCCA and MLHUD, consider the people in slums as essential partners in the various projects being undertaken (state support for community-led initiatives and ‘listening’ to the voice from slums).

The people in slums are not a problem but slums are a problem. So, we worked together to jointly document the problems facing the people in these communities. We introduced the two types of savings to enhance community mobilisation for increased community support and contribution during co-production. When communities commit their resources to implement projects in Kampala Central, and Kalimali, Kinawataka Market, Nakawa, and numerous livelihood projects across the City, and government comes on board to commit and make available land, markets, human, financial and technical resources to make things happen, then you realise that there is change in the way stakeholders interpret the City and its slums. The Partnership through the Federation built the capacity in the saving groups to an extent where financial institutions such as Diamond Trust Fund, Post Bank, Housing Finance Bank which have been supporting some of our saving groups by funding community-led projects like poultry, land acquisition and mushroom growing.

Interview, Lutwama Muhammed, (Executive Director, ACTogether), 7/02/ 2016.

The other initiative implemented by the Partnership involved scaling-up of exchange programmes. It should be noted that these exchange programmes were introduced in the setting up phase but needed consolidation in the subsequent years. The arrangements and planning of the exchange to other Federation movements globally was in the hands of ACTogether from 2007 to 2010. Learning needed to be sustained and consolidated. ACTogether built the capacity in the Federation to plan and execute exchange programmes based on need. As such, by 2010, the NGO started withdrawing from this role of organising for exchange visits. The Federation took over the responsibility and have since continued to be entirely responsible for all exchange programmes. However, the funding and inter-government exchange programmes by the Partnership continue to be coordinated by ACTogether in close consultation with the Federation. For example, MLHUD, two Federation members, one officer from KCCA, one staff member from ACTogether went on exchange to India to learn how community mobilisation was being done and how the state had been working in the Indian Partnership to promote transformation in the slums. During the second phase, the Partnership used

²² <file:///C:/Users/Administrator/Downloads/ACTOGETHER%20NEWS%20LETTER.pdf>, 25/11/2016

enumerations, savings and exchange initiatives at City-scale to increase the number of slums recognised officially by the state.

When the Minister and his staff came back from India, both KCCA and the Ministry were easy to engage on projects, the drafting and signing of the 2013 MoU became easy. Exchange visits are a game changer in the way the state understands and interprets initiatives by the Partnership.

Interview, Sara Nambozo, (National Leader, NSDFU), 6/02/2016.

Having presented the details of the relations between stakeholders in the consolidation phase, the next sub-section will explain the third phase of co-production.

5.2.3 National scaling-up phase

Having built the capacity in the communities and other partners to undertake bigger projects, there was need to increase physical community transformation projects. During this phase, lasting from late 2010-2014, there was an expansion in the number of projects, initiatives, and expanded community mobilisation, among others. This was a period of actualisation and delivering mass change, acquiring land, building on savings, building the Suubi fund, building systems in auditing, reporting and building resilience among the members. The Federation was taking their interventions higher and working to scale. Transforming Settlements of the Urban Poor in Uganda (TSUPU) programme was introduced in Uganda in 2012 and the initiative is recorded as a major factor responsible for the rapid growth of the Partnership in the subsequent years. The programme was externally supported by Cities Alliance and locally implemented by MLHUD and the Federation with support from ACTogether. The TSUPU programme made the Partnership transform from a relatively small collection of people working in Kampala and Jinja cities to a country-wide initiative representing the interest of slum dwellers in Uganda. TSUPU was a Cities Alliance funded Country Programme in Uganda to improve urban infrastructure and service delivery in five secondary Ugandan municipalities. Implemented between early 2012 and late 2013, TSUPU mobilised about 14,000 slum dwellers into 303 savings groups outside of Kampala, which were federated into committees at the settlement and city development levels (ACTogether website). These organisations of the urban poor worked in the Partnership to identify and prioritise projects, then oversaw their implementation. The TSUPU initiative helped ensure that the urban poor were actively engaged in planning as citizens with rights and responsibilities.

The practical experience gained through the TSUPU programme provided the upfront institutional framework to support the World Bank's US\$150 million Uganda Support to

Municipal Infrastructure Development (USMID) project, expanding TSUPU from five to 14 secondary cities in Uganda (Annual Report, ACTogether, 2014). The Partnership had grown and the Federation was ready to lead the implementation processes of large scale projects.

The USMID programme is delivered under a special instrument known as the Program-for-Results or PforR, which has linked the disbursement of funds directly to the delivery of defined results. Money is only released once the results have been delivered and verified. The programme requires players to be primarily accountable to the affected people in the slums.

Interview, Mr Denis Obote, (Information Technologist, MLHUD), 16/02/2016.

Relations between the Federation and the NGO became more turbulent between 2012 and 2013. The Federation alleged that the Director of the NGO became undemocratic and lacked accountability to the grassroots in her decision-making. Her management style was objected to by the Federation, who showed its displeasure through protests and shouting at her during encounters between the two. Though the Ministry tried to support the Director, the Federation pressed on with its demands for her resignation and she was forced out of the job by middle of 2013.

In 2012, the Federation had gained a lot of capacity and there was need to further reflect on the roles of both NGO and Federation in co-production engagements. The NGO had to reflect on the need let go and allow people to completely drive their own activities and agenda. That called for a lot of adjustment in operations and actions among the NGO staff, Management, NGO board and Federation. As such, 2012 was a year of adjustment, year of pulling ropes in the process of members trying to adjust to new challenges and new assignments, reinfusing some functions to a grown federation. The board had to be changed to get in new members to drive the new agenda. The ED's (Sara Ibanda) stepping down was part of the process of growth and a way of making the NGO structure more community focused. We believe if we get government listening, then government must listen to community people. The people should be talking to their government and not the NGO talking for them.

Interview, Lutwama Muhammed, (Executive Director, ACTogether), 7/02/2016.

A major impact of the TSUPU and USMID projects on the co-production initiatives by the Partners in Kampala included the drafting and signing of the Memorandum of Understanding (MoU) between KCCA, MLHUD and the Federation in 2013. The MoU cemented the tripartite relationship and sought to enhance the role of co-production initiatives through innovative service delivery and governance activities for Kampala. For example, through exchange

between Kampala partners and the Federation groups in the five TSUPU municipalities, Municipal Development Forums (MDFs) were introduced in Kampala in 2013. The MDFs were drafted in the 'Forums Charter' where the partners are expected to hold one City-wide MDF per year at KCCA. MDFs have been implemented as a strategy for enhancing the Partnership and co-production of urban knowledge and infrastructural services. Observations revealed that the Charter was formulated by the Department for Urban Development and was expected to be followed by municipalities across the country. While the Ministry was preparing the Charter, the Federation and the NGO prepared rules of how to implement the Forums. ACTogether and the Federation mobilised slum dwellers into forums from local to City levels. As such, there has been contestation as to who should 'own' the forums. Both the Ministry and the Federation presented strong arguments as to why each one of them is the rightful owner of the idea. The Federation sees forums as a way of projecting a more strategic and stronger voice from the communities to the authorities and partners. On the other hand, the Ministry sees forums as a mechanism for promoting dialogue on all complex city challenges like land tenure system, transport system, economic development, poverty reduction and gender equality among others. KCCA has not taken a decisive position on the ownership of the forums but has been keen to host all division and City Forums to promote dialogue in the City. Through forums, the Partnership has managed to deal with some complex land matters.

The Forums at all levels of society in Kampala have filled the gap where state-society engagement has been fractured and battered over the years. The forums have created a new window of hope in the area of governance where all stakeholders and the local leaders interface with the authorities. MDFs have presented to the Partnership an opportunity to accelerate change in the slums. Issues of compensation for land that is used for communal services have been addressed in the forums and now, the Partnership is not spending as much on projects.

Interview, Mr Silver Owere, (official, ACTogether), 13/10/2015.

Urban Forums have emerged as engagement spaces where slum dwellers, entrepreneurs, landlords, tenants, academia, municipal officials, politicians and generally the public have been engaging in public discussions to rethink and re-engage with the future we want for Kampala.

During the forums, we have representation from service providers, academia, NGOs, government departments, and traditional leadership among others. In the forums, we bring communities in the same place with policy makers and technocrats and private sector to discuss municipal development issues and debate solutions.

Interview, Kampala Central Division Forum President, 4/02/2016.

We have continued to use MDFs as a strategy for Partnership building. The forums have been used for deliberative decision making processes, a space where people come to express themselves in terms of service delivery. Since 2012, the Partnership has used MDFs to discuss issues of land, landlessness, services delivery, incomes and partnerships. Throughout Kampala, forums have enabled the Partnership to implement lot of projects that involve roads and drainages. In the forums, we agreed that the all Partnership-based projects should be more accountable to community residents. As such, the local Federation structures have been providing procurement services to many Partnership projects. Players are accountable right to the people who are directly impacted by the projects. Working within the MoU, the community was empowered to provide community procurement services, certify project delivery and recommend payment of the players concerned.

Interview, Mr Denis Obote, (Information Technologist, MLHUD), 16/02/2016.

Working as partners, in Kampala, the NGO and the Federation took the lead in the introduction and implementation of the forums. This was not well received by officials from MLHUD as some revealed the need for the state to be more involved. Ministry officials claimed that the idea of the MDFs should have belonged to government, but the NGO saw the potential value and took a leading role. The MLHUD claimed that the continued ownership of the MDF idea by the NGO and the Federation was causing them to misinterpret the implementation process. Besides taking the role of early sensitisation and mobilisation for forums, as stated earlier, the NGO and the Federation also provided funding to kick-start the forums. This study established that it was easier for the Federation to lead the implementation process of the forums, given that the Federation structures in the communities were already established and logistical issues and operationalisation of NGO funds were easy to administer through these established structures. There was a close link between the Federation activities and the forums. For example, enumeration reports served as input in the forums, and many Federation members became Forum Presidents. On the other hand, while the forums are a national programme and the concept is supposedly to be directed by the Department of Urban Development, the success of the programme is by and large currently dictated by the Federation. Though the potential is high, KCCA and the Ministry have so far not boycotted the forums or protested physically through letters or summons to the Federation and the NGO.

Other sources of tensions in the Partnership were caused by the fact that in the initial stages of the MDFs, there were tensions between poor people in informal settlements and the middle

class (entrepreneurs) as it was felt that slum dwellers were not supposed to join the MDFs. There was concern from non-slum dwellers that discussions in the forums were focusing too much on slums. It was also established that there was a feeling among some sections of society that forums were somehow endorsing the wrongs done in and by slum dwellers. For example, the first Kampala City Forum in 2014, the Federation presented the reports from City-wide enumerations and this became the only basis for the discussion. This meant that other issues would not be presented, resulting in residents becoming frustrated. There were equally cases where the political leadership felt threatened by the MDF activities. In the early stages of the MDFs, many councillors at division level felt that their mandates were going to be diluted by the forums.

The misunderstandings between the forum proponents and the urban councils have continued to affect relations between KCCA structures and Federation. Some stakeholders consider forums as grabbing the legal powers of the established KCCA decision-making structures. On the other hand, the Federation argued that forums have always promoted dialogue between slum communities and other stakeholders. As such, the Partnership is of the view that MDFs are an important addition to the governance infrastructure for Kampala. These various power dynamics, shaped as they are by different interests in the forums, have remained unresolved. As such, slum dwellers constitute the highest proportion of participants during MDF meetings at all levels and have occupied nearly all the Forum's top leadership positions.

I can tell you that as an officer from the Ministry, I would not call them Municipal Development Forums, but I would call them Slum Forums (SFs). They are not inclusive and the leadership positions are mainly held by Federation members, how? The idea has been hijacked and if this continues, the once a breakthrough initiative may get abandoned completely!

Interview, Ms Faridah Namukasa, (Official, MLHUD), 19/10/2015.

There has been a serious misunderstanding among the partners on the MDFs and this has, by and large, been fuelled by populism and vote banking practices. During MDF meetings, conflicting interests have always emerged and technocrats in the Partnership have faced difficulties in actualising resolutions from the forums. Realising Forum resolutions by the technocrats takes long largely because of limited resources, and contestation of what constitutes valid 'knowledge' and development standards. For example, issues of relocations and failure to accept by some stakeholders that relocations and evictions are a daunting reality has caused a significant amount of frustration and divisions among partners. While forums have helped solve some pertinent issues, different interpretations of what a good city for all should be has

characterised the MDF deliberations and Partnership physical engagements over the years. As part of national scaling-up by the Partnership, a ground-breaking project in the area of housing was proposed in Kinawataka, in Nakawa division. The partners proposed to improve the security of tenure, undertake market improvement, and construct water and sanitation facilities among other initiatives.

In 2012, we entered into a Partnership with the Federation and ACTogether where we had programmes to jointly undertake urban renewal projects. In this programme, we started with Kinawataka market redevelopment project to explore ideas on low cost and mixed use housing developments for residents and traders. However, we have encountered serious socio-political and land related challenges in this project, hence, the delays to start. In the Partnership, the Federation is the core member of the urban renewal programme and we have counter-part funding arrangements.

Interview, Harriet, Director, Gender, Production and Marketing- (KCCA), 10/02/2016.

In September 2014, this researcher was privileged to be among the attendees of the first ever Municipal Development Forum to discuss the findings of a city-wide enumeration exercise that started in 2012 and was concluded in 2014. The deliberations during the MDF were co-chaired by the state and the Federation. The previous Commissioner for Urban Development attended the deliberations while all the mayors and town clerks from the five divisions of Kampala were also present. It was the first time such a high volume of information gathered by the Partnership had been appreciated at such a high technical and political level. Earlier, KCCA and the National Water and Sewerage Corporation (NWSC) had requested Federation generated maps in order to overlay them with maps from KCCA and NWSC to generate agreement on the extent of slum settlements and to prioritize the areas of operation for projects.

The geographical scope for slums has been expanded by the use of profiling, enumeration and mapping reports with over 40 parishes being considered by the state to have slums. This was achieved through the use of the MDFs. The Partnership presented their reports for the slum situation in Kampala. It was deliberated and agreed that the number of slums exceeded those known by the state.

Interview, Profiling, Enumeration and Mapping Officer, ACTogether, 10/02/2016.

All research participants indicated that ACTogether leads the mobilisation of residents to form groups and equips them with capacity to do project design and management, record keeping, documentation, auditing, and promote transparent and accountable community leadership. This has built the capacity of slum dwellers to the extent that the state, through KCCA, has been

able to fund the groups for livelihood (see reports²³), and communal projects. It was established that all the co-produced large scale projects in Kampala are led by community members with support from ACTogether and the state. Examples of such projects include the three water and sanitation projects in the three divisions of Kampala, installation of prepaid metres for water connections to provide networked services in Kisenyi III network, land tenure and trading markets in Kinawataka, improved drainage and solid waste management services across the Kawempe division.

I can confirm that the savings have helped us build communities. As such, government has used the Federation structures - operating as saving groups at community level to engage with citizens to address community problems. Also we have used savings to build relationships, friendships and investment activities. We have used the federation groups to enter Kalimali in Kawempe, Mbuya and Kinawataka in Nakawa to construct large scale community projects for the local people in these areas.

Interview, Ms Nimusiima, (ACTogether, Programme Officer), 09/02/2016.

The next sub-section presents findings on the last phase of co-production in Kampala.

5.2.4 Fourth phase of co-production in Kampala Central division: Broadening scope phase

The fourth phase of co-production engagements in Kampala is from 2014-2015, and is on-going. The phase is characterised by a mature Partnership with clear focused mandates and projects. During this phase, the Partnership is using a mature Federation with a clear understanding of the methodologies and decision-making capabilities. The partners now understand that slum transformation will have to take into account the need for income boosting in slum households. As such, the Partnership has a broadened scope of activities to include income generating activities. The happenings in this phase in Kampala represent what has been happening in all the other divisions of the City regarding co-production engagements and relations. During this time, savings are big and community groups are registered and well equipped to participate in nearly all initiatives supported by the city-focused Community Driven Development fund (CDD) and donor funds provided by Comic Relief, the Lutheran World Federation (LWF) and SDI. As such, in the fourth phase, co-production initiatives have been emphasising the need for a people-centred approach as a way of transforming slums. Savings have become a key area of emphasis so that people apply for matching funds to

²³ <http://www.ACTogetherug.org/index.php/features/livelihoods,15/12/16>

improve their livelihoods. The partners have introduced two independent matching funds to respond more swiftly to people's initiatives.

Currently, KCCA trusts and uses saving groups to engage with the communities to improve service delivery and to promote income generating activities across the City. There is a strong and mutual link between the Federation groups and CDD in Kawempe, Nakawa and Kampala Central. To benefit from the CDD funds, groups need official registration as CBOs with KCCA and ACTogether.

Interview, Mr Silver Michael Owere, (Official, ACTogether), 13/10/2015.

The mobilisation started focusing on slum realities and on things that can be achieved through Partnerships. As such, the Partnership focused on strategies like savings, loaning, capacity building on project design and management. What has caused the growth is the fact that the Partnership is guided by reality in terms of scale of the expected challenge in relation to available resources, hence, the success recorded in managing community expectations. From 2012 onwards, the emphasis has been on realities and the need to see urban challenges as a manifestation of income poverty and institutional failure. This approach has created a new momentum in the Partnership. The members have grown the Suubi savings in proportions that have made the implementation of many projects a real possibility.

By end of 2014, the federation alone had loaned out USG: 327.70 Million, equivalent to about USD\$100, 000 in loans with over 150 loans for livelihood projects. Of the 327 Million, we have over 80% of this money loaned to groups in Kampala. Access to this fund is determined by the aggressiveness of the Federation members in submitting proposals for projects.

Interview, Iren Namaganda, (Official, ACTogether), 15/02/2016.

In the loaning systems and processes, both KCCA and ACTogether have used Federation groups to promote livelihood projects in the slums. Once the group has been registered with KCCA and the Federation, the groups do have a higher chance of receiving livelihood funds in the form of grants and loans to grow their incomes. The benefits provide a motivation for membership growth and propels the members towards their dream communities. There is a common understanding by the Partnership that urban planning and development in Kampala must be reality-driven and must focus on boosting people's incomes. So, both organisations give groups capacity to access loans for business through joint training and exchange programmes.

We are taught how to write proposals, how to do auditing and accounting in our savings groups and teach us on how to negotiate with stakeholders on matters of business. The key thing is to save and be able to access capital for projects.

Interview, LC One Chair, Kisenyi 1, 4/2/2016.

Key in all the Federation regulations at the group and network levels is that savings should seek to bring and keep people together and promote innovation for community transformation. There is an equally inherent understanding that the Federation should be able to dialogue and challenge in any manner possible discriminatory ways of engaging with city development, abuse of resources and corruption. Savings are relied upon to promote urban transformation through dialogue, citizenship, enlightenment and financial empowerment. However, cases of abuse of funds were revealed at Mbuya, Ram Computers and the defunct Zibula Tude saving groups among many others. As is usual practice in the Federation, dishonest and failed leaders were asked by the group members to resign. After their resignations, measures to recover the funds were instituted. More details on how groups have managed to deal with the issues of poor leadership and theft of funds are contained in the Kawempe division, presented later in this chapter.

When choosing a leader to lead the community groups, you need somebody who understands the federation concept and the need to sacrifice for the common good. We have a lot of seemingly good and talkative leaders but many of them are crooks and they end up abusing the people's funds. Poor leadership is threatening the reputation of the movement as a whole. If this continues, I am afraid government and society will question the prop-poor agenda of the Uganda Federation.

Interview, Mr Hassan Chiberu, (National Chairman, NSDFU), 12/02/2016.

The Zibula Tude savings group was broken apart by dishonest leaders who abused the group's funds. The group was located in a market in Kawempe and it was a strong local force with a lot of savings and could influence what happens in the area. After leadership failures and theft of group funds, the group disintegrated and later on evolved into new different groups and we have three more groups now. This caused a lot of anger in the general Federation membership, NGO and other stakeholders.

Interview, Ms Nimusiima, (ACTogether, Programme Officer), 9/02/2016.

Other challenges affecting the Federation include the elite capture of saving groups by some local leadership. In most cases, the chairman, secretary and the treasure do sign for the

registration of the group but later on, like one group in Lubaga division, some leaders ‘owned’ the group and the other members found it hard to continue with federating. The three top leaders, involving the chairperson, secretary and treasurer, in the groups sometimes form a clique and manipulate other savers, thereby causing frustration and abandonment. The Partnership promotes community-based decision making and does not go down to the groups to solve their problems, as they believe that this will make achieving the goal of truly empowering the groups for self-determination futile. No partner at higher level structures has legal powers to participate in either the selection or removal of group leaders. This is, rather, a competency reserved for the group members. This Federation practice has continued to frustrate the Ministry as they believe ACTogether and Federation NEC members are ultimately responsible for the abuses seen in the Federation at all levels. David Kayangayanga, Principal Housing Officer at the Ministry, explains:

I have people coming here asking for me to help them change the leaders. Sometimes, they do come and ask for creation of two parallel Federations. I believe the federation members are not happy with the way the leadership is chosen and how funds are managed. The leaders are also seen as benefiting more and the other members feel there are not benefiting at all, there is frustration in the Federation. We should be cautious not to over entrust the community leaders, because when trust and structures are broken, a ‘community’ could collapse, then would be a disaster with enormous losses for all of us working with the Federation. We need more democracy and fairness. We need stronger checks and balances at all levels in the Federation.

Interview, Mr. Davy Kayangayanga, (Housing Officer, MLHUD), 20/10/15.

As a Ministry responsible for urban development, we have challenges in leadership style of the Federation. For example, we want to see clear transfer of power and responsibility within the Federation leadership ranks from local to national levels. ACTogether seems unclear on the way Federation leaders are chosen. There must be tenure limits and all leaders must be chosen by the grassroots through elections. It is common to see leaders abuse the funds for the groups because there seems to be no clear and strict mechanism to force them to account and be transparent to the group members. Some leaders over stay and learn the tricks of bad leadership. There is a lot of abuse going on, and government is not happy. We sympathise with the members at the lower levels.

Interview, Stephen Bogere, (Senior Sociologist, MLHUD), 15/02/2016.

On the other hand, the Federation and ACTogether have strongly disagreed with the Ministry’s insistence on election as a way of choosing leaders. The Federation questions the motive for

government's interest and says the Federation is anchored in devolved and voluntary leadership. The disagreement has continued to rage and create grounds for mistrust.

After record impressive growth in the Federation's activities in Uganda, the Uganda Federation is now a global learning centre for other SDI national affiliates. This means that frequent international visits to learn about the usual SDI rituals of savings, enumerations, and projects had to reduce from 2012 onwards when Uganda was declared mature by SDI. However, there is misconception in Kampala as many Federation members think that exchange is about Uganda to Kenya or simply international. ACTogether has continued supporting activities for in-country exchange visits.

Like we currently have the railway eviction case in Kampala, and the first thing for us is to see if there is any in-country case where we can learn from. We are still teaching our members, as exchange is not a site visit, but a trans-local learning platform for targeted cases or initiatives.

Interview, Lutwama Muhammed, (Executive Director, ACTogether), 7/02/ 2016.

Exchange programmes have caused a deep sense of frustration among some members of the Federation in Kampala Central division. Many members in Kisenyi network voiced the concern that the international exchange programme is now the preserve of the NEC members and the National Working Team. The members of various Federation groups in Kisenyi I, II and III voiced concerns that there is favouritism by NEC members in choosing who participates in international exchange visits.

From the time we allowed the Federation leaders at national level take charge of exchange activities, we lost it. Now there is a challenge in the way we execute international exchange because the grassroots no longer participate in international exchange programmes. We are not sure if the original purpose exchange programme is still being fulfilled for Kampala.

Interview, Kampala Central Federation Chair, 4/02/2016.

Complaints from the Kisenyi Federation network are confirmed by the narratives from the Deputy Chairperson of SDFU. As the Federation continues growing and expanding across the country, the selection of members for international exchange is increasingly based on the type and purpose of exchange activity. This is already creating frustrations as it is hard to satisfy everyone.

The few who go outside Uganda for targeted meetings and strategic engagements which focus on international SDI related activities. This is so because SDI classified Uganda Federation as

a mature Federation, thus, there is less focus on exchange for purposes of savings, auditing, Partnership, enumerations.

Interview, Sara Nandodu, (National Leader, NSDFU), 06/02/016.

Women constitute the majority membership of the Federation in Uganda in general and Nakawa and Kawempe divisions in particular. At national level, the Federation is sustained by women as men are less committed to the Federation rituals. Interviews with Federation members indicate that proportionally, men are more dominant in applying for loans and demanding leadership positions as well as wanting to participate in international exchange activities. Interviews with the Chairperson of the Nakawa division (17/10/2015) in Kinawataka-Mbuya Settlement, established that saving groups that are led by women are doing better and have less incidences of defaulting. For example, Chisachamukama, Chanja, Chamala and Mbuya saving groups were led by a man who later abused the funds. The leaders of these groups were later asked to step down so that the Federation in the area could recover and continue to grow.

With the hope of making profits and pay back in time, the men who were chairpersons of the groups worked with treasurers and used the funds for their businesses. Their businesses failed and they defaulted and this collapsed groups. Women believe in the power of savings and have sustained the Federation work in Nakawa. However, some groups like the Banda Workers are led by men and they are doing fine.

Interview, representative, Nakawa Regional Federation, 04/02/2016.

Federation members and leaders in Nakawa and Kawempe divisions (Interviews with Saver, Youth Action Group in Kawempe and Banda Workers' Group) argue that women are more united and when they participate in lobbying for services, and they represent the community in a much more united way than men. The stated goal of the Partnership is to improve the livelihoods of the households and transform communities. Research participants from the Federation reported that women take up leadership positions in the Federation as they embrace co-production ideas more readily than men and findings show that they are committed to the objective of making communities in Kampala safe and liveable. In Kawempe, Federation members in the Youth Action Group revealed in interviews that mostly men do not like to actively participate in what is referred to as 'women's work'. Most men do not like to save very little money and they feel shameful and may want to preserve their social standing in society by staying away from the Partnership activities. It was observed that many community men who remain active in the Federation for a long time are leaders. In other cases, where some

men are seen as being extraordinary in their groups, this is usually because their wives are members of the Federation and serve as a motivating factor in paying back loans. However, most Federation leaders in Kampala argued that being a Federation leader at the level of chairperson means that one is better sensitised, and understands and appreciates co-production initiatives.

To qualify for a loan from the Federation, groups are required to register with KCCA and also with the Federation movement in the local area. At least, we can only give a grant if you have a certificate with the Federation. Women are more committed to the Federation rituals and they have constituted the largest proportion of the people who have gotten grants from KCCA for Nakawa division.

Interview, Harriet, Director, Gender, Production and Marketing (KCCA), 10/02/2016.

In terms of savings, women are doing better, but in terms of decision making and managing conflicts, men do better. Men are not driven by small things, they are driven by power and leadership desires and this is evident in the Federation groups of Nakawa. The groups that are led dominated and by women are affected by petty talk and rumours which in turn discourages some members. In Nakawa, for example, women groups have fewer incidents of power struggles, abuse of funds, failure to contribute to both Suubi and daily savings and keen to participate in federation activities to improve their living conditions.

Interview, Ms Catherine Nimusiima, (Programme Officer, ACTogether, 9/02/2016).

5.2.5 Conclusion on the Kampala Central division sub-case

In summary, the Kampala Central division sub-case (which also reflects the growth of the Partnership in Kampala more generally) shows that the state has dedicated programmes in Kampala to support community-led initiatives. Further, co-production in the City is shaped by Partnership relations that are anchored on community mobilisation and community leadership. Conflicts among partners are induced by local capture of savings and abuse of community savings, contradicting KCCA policies and programmes, and deep difference in approach and methodology among partners. The next sub-section will use the sub-case of Nakawa division to show how different elements of the state and society engage in the processes of co-production of urban knowledge and services.

5.3 The Nakawa division sub-case

The Nakawa division sub-case is, by and large, meant to show how diversity within the Partnership affected co-production relations in the Nakawa division of Kampala. As shown in figure 5.1 in the Nakawa division, the initial organised co-production activities were introduced

in 2009 during the transition period from consolidation to national scaling-up phases in Kampala. This sub-case is unique because it shows manifestations of how diversity within the Partnership affected co-production relations in the division. The narratives are based on co-production engagements largely in Mbuya and the redevelopment of the Kinawataka market and housing project. It should be noted that co-production engagements and relations presented in the Kampala case have a significant bearing on Partnership relations in the Nakawa division. The period from 2002-2007 had no co-production engagements in Nakawa because the Partnership was young and focused on few projects in Kampala Central. Furthermore, it is not the intention of this sub-case to illustrate the details of all the phases of co-production, but rather to briefly explain the co-production relations in the consolidation phase and the later national scaling-up period. The aim is to show how different elements in society and state responded to co-production engagements in the national scaling-up phase.

5.3.1 Consolidation phase

As shown in figure 5.1, early co-production engagements in the Nakawa division were introduced in the consolidation phase from 2007-2010. The Kinawataka and Mbuya settlements in the Nakawa division were chosen for market upgrading and construction of a communal water and sanitation facility. Kinawataka and Mbuya shared a trading space for hundreds of informal traders from many nearby areas but the place lacked any public water and sanitation infrastructure as people resorted to use of plastic bags for disposing human waste. Furthermore, traders lacked physical infrastructure to support their trading activities. The first initiatives started with mobilisation for savings and enumerations and led to the formation of the first four saving groups in Banda, Mbuya, Bukotu, and Chambogo areas among others in the part of Kampala City known as the Nakawa division. These groups were comprised of mobilised and sensitized local residents who had agreed to participate in savings groups for community and personal development. The local early Federation members in the area were identified and trained by the other Federation groups from Kampala Central. The mobilisation strategy was based on the need to save 100 Ugandan Shillings per day for Suubi (the national fund) so that community residents could get organised to enable them to work with KCC and now KCCA and ACTogether to improve service delivery and secure land tenure rights. From the first few savings groups in the division, the Nakawa division had by 2015 mobilised 60 savings groups with about 2000 active members saving in various networks (ACTogether/ NSDFU Annual Report, 2015).

It is essential to indicate upfront that partnership activities in Nakawa were implemented using SDI sanctioned methodologies with an emphasis on savings, enumerations and exchange visits. After enumerating the area in the 2010-2011 period, it was established that Mbuya settlement was gravely affected by lack of water and sanitation facilities. The problem of poor infrastructural services was worsened by a run-down market. After a comparative analysis of settlements in the division, and a visit of the SDI global president to Mbuya in 2012, the partners appeared to agree to construct a communal water and sanitation project in Mbuya and upgrade a market in the Kinawataka area. Since then, the market project has been affected by major tensions resulting from different interests in the community. Various groups in the area demanded compensation in order for them to give their land (on which they had Mailo tenure claims) for the project, while the Federation insisted on zero compensation, arguing the project was for the community.

The land where the water and sanitation facility was to be developed belonged to KCCA under Nakawa Division. However, the land was settled on for over a period of 20 years by the local people who did not have papers to claim legal ownership and use rights. When plans to upgrade the market were presented to the members of the community, many challenges emerged. We have not yet reached an agreement at community level to enable the market redevelopment to start.

Interview, Mr Stephen Byangaba, (LC 1 Chairman, Kinawataka Market), 12/02/16.

Dynamics shaping co-production in Nakawa are explained more in the national scaling-up phase.

5.3.2 National scaling-up phase

As shown in figure 5.1, the national scaling-up phase was from late 2010-2014. The period saw the implementation of major projects in the slums of Kampala and beyond. During the same time, a governance initiative was launched to change the way KCCA was engaging with the people in slums. According to the narratives by LC 1 Chairman in Kinawataka (Interview, 12/02/16), the highest growth in co-production initiatives ever recorded in Nakawa was in 2014 when the Nakawa Municipal Development Forums were launched in the division.

Municipal Development Forums made community mobilisation easier, raised the profile of the existing groups, and consolidated the partnership between KCCA and the community.

Interview, Nakawa Federation Saver, 4/02/2016.

The Partnership chose the Nakawa division to implement a number of projects as part of the national scaling-up of initiatives specifically. These projects must be understood in the context of the national scaling-up phase because the projects were conceived under city-wide and national wide agreements to up-scale the engagements. The water and sanitation and market redevelopment projects were a city-wide initiative for Kampala. However, local and regional Federation structures worked with the Ministry and KCCA during the project implementation.

For the Nakawa division, both projects were to be implemented in Mbuya settlement with the market redevelopment project being in the Kinawataka area. However, land for these projects was owned by KCCA under the leasehold land tenure system (see chapter 4), but settled on and developed by people from all over Kampala. Initially, the Federation approached the Nakawa Division Council to allow the Partnership to improve infrastructure for the traders and settlers. However, the Federation was advised to go and engage the vendors first before engaging the Council over the land. The Council stayed out of the project and land negotiations because it was expected that the processes would cause conflict with the community not being ready to easily agree to the proposals. During interviews with Mr Waiswa Kakaile, (ACTogether, Engineer, 08/02/2016), it was established that KCCA put the Federation in front to deal with the challenges and secure community support towards the projects. Fearing rejection and not sure who amongst the vendors to engage, the Federation ignored the advice by KCCA to engage the traders first, but instead went on to engage local leaders. Later, the Federation approached the Local Council One chairperson (LC One), Mr. Stephen Byangaba, and presented the proposals on the redevelopments in the area. At this stage, the meetings between the Federation and the LC One chairperson were not backed by popular support from the traders and local land owners (refer to Mailo land tenure systems in chapter 4). Later on, the LC chairperson talked to KCCA regional Council and engaged traders and property owners in the area regarding the proposed projects. Some settlers, those who ‘owned’ land in the area, agreed to give part of ‘their’ land for the water and sanitation project and KCCA supported initiative. The Federation later engaged the Town Clerk and the Mayor for Nakawa division on the modalities to deal with the cases of those people who would surrender their land for the water and sanitation facility for the benefit of the entire community. After several engagements, land for the community water and sanitation project was secured and constructions lasted from early 2012 to middle 2013 when it was launched. The Partnership has not managed to secure land for market upgrading.

In line with the Federation and ACTogether practices, it was agreed that nobody would be compensated in monetary terms for giving away their land for community projects, but that all the affected individuals would be given new stores and houses when the area is redeveloped in phase two of the project. Phase two was planned to focus on developing Kinawataka market area into a mixed use node providing spaces for dwelling and retail. The LC leaders were key in facilitating the implementation of the first phase of the project.

Interview, Secretary to the LC Chairperson, (Nakawa- Kinawataka Market), 17/10/2015.

Later in 2013, without consolidating community support, especially from the traders, the Partnership endorsed the Federation's proposal to upgrade the Kinawataka market to serve as a launch pad for the joint urban renewal programme. While the initial construction of water and sanitation projects were not delayed, the market redevelopment plans suffered from setbacks that emanated from the area. It had emerged that land ownership at Kinawataka market was controlled by relatively wealthier individuals and groups, and that KCCA was constrained by institutional and political limitations in their attempt to control and manage what happened in the area.

Being at the core of the urban renewal programme, the Federation is expected to secure community support. KCCA is expected to come in and issue papers for the land and provide other technical and institutional support to make the project a reality. But this can only happen when residents are organised and agree to support the intervention.

Interview, Harriet, Director, Gender, Production and Marketing- (KCCA), 10/02/2016.

The Nakawa regional Federation team worked with the Mbuya saving group and the representatives of KCCA to produce an enumeration report to document all the players who influenced decision making processes on the Kinawataka market area (Interviews, Rubega Idris, National Leader, NSDFU, 13/10/15). The report revealed the existence of many categories of the people with competing interests and demands on how the area should be developed. As such, the state seemed to use the Federation to deal with community conflicts before it was prepared to get fully involved in the projects. Since the Federation and the NGO specialise in working with people in slums, the state expected that mobilizing and organising people for projects would not be a challenge, an assumption that proved not true for projects in Mbuya.

We found that the area had about 1000 people who operated in the market and these were categorised into tenants, sub-tenants, landlords, structure owners, political party representatives, Local Council One Chairmen, more women, and fewer young people. The

majority were tenants, seconded by sub-tenants and the minority were the landlords. We presented the report during the MDF²⁴ at KCCA in 2015.

Interview, Sumayiya, National Youth Leader/Saver, (Nakawa, NSDFU), 12/02/2016.

The group with the highest influence on what happens in Kinawataka market area included the Local Council chairman who owned the largest number of stores and shops (owned more plots and structures), and the landlords. Tenants constitute the largest proportion but have less influence on what happens on the land. However, they also demanded assurance from the Partnership about shop and house ownership after redevelopment.

Interview, Mr. Stephen Byangaba, (LC 1 Chairman, Kinawataka Market), 12/02/16.

It is critical to note that not all the traders and residents of the Kinawataka area are members of the Federation. Mixed use development was meant to ensure that the same people who work there should be the same ones to have the stores and to live there. This fragmentation in land ownership and control of use in Kinawataka compelled some sections of society to demand full compensation before works on the market redevelopment can start. The funds for the redevelopment of the market were already released by ACTogether and SDI, but funds for compensation are still not available and may not be available anytime soon. The landlords, tenants and structure owners refused to cooperate with the Partnership to allow for the area to be redeveloped. They would not allow temporary relocation for construction to commence.

In this case, the structure owners operate under the Kibanja tenure rights which is an important system of the Mailo system. Under Kibanja system, structure owners may be or may not be documented with Kibanja certificates and tenants do not hold full ownership rights. They are required to pay rent to Mailo owners. However, is legally very difficult for Mailo owners to evict the structure owners (tenants), rendering Kibanja tenants to have rights indefinitely.

Interview, Mr. Stephen Byangaba, (LC 1 Chairman, Kinawataka Market), 12/02/16.

The complication of the demand to compensate some people in the Kinawataka market area has affected the execution of the project. This is so because the issue of compensation is against the ideals of the Federation and ACTogether. The Federation and the NGO implements projects with other partners to improve the living and working conditions for people in slums without causing major disruptions in the life of the targeted population. In the same way, the Partnership planned to redevelop the Kinawataka area to improve the living and working environment for

²⁴ <http://ACTogetherug.org/index.php/blog/item/248-nakawa-forum-meeting,02/12/2016>

current land occupiers and tenants. The demand for compensation of land owners implies that the target population would not benefit and this could cause a serious breach of the Federation and SDI practices. The matter was complicated further by the fact that some land owners indicated that they would not want to own property in the area after re-development. This is because they fear that they will be evicted and cannot trust KCCA after re-development to ensure security. Further, being an informal market, people who owned property and businesses in the area had not been expected to pay government levies and they feared that formal land ownership would make them liable for payment. At the time of interviewing, there was no agreement reached on how to proceed with upgrading the market.

The past has shown that the poor are usually displaced, regardless of promises. We upgraded a market in Wandegeya in 2014 in Kampala Central near Makerere University, and the majority of the initial occupants/owners/traders were displaced contrary to the promises.

Interview, Representative from Nakawa Federation, 4/02/2016.

In addition to this, there was another precedent that was set when some landlords gave up their space for the development of the water and sanitation facility in Mbuya, based on the promise that they would be allocated a shop and a house when the second phase of the project is complete. This has not been honoured and people are more hesitant to trust the Partnership. Complicating the issues, the Federation and the NGO maintain that they cannot invest on a piece of land that has unresolved issues. The Partnership has not honoured the promise because the second phase of the project (market redevelopment) has not been implemented. As such, the traders and residents have protested against developments by refusing to pave the way by giving up land for construction.

The landlords and the LC One leaders are among the most powerful group of people and nobody can succeed at working in Kinawataka without their support. The LC Ones are connected to senior politicians and have the ability to influence what happens in the area. The chairman of the landlords' committee also occupies the position of LC One chairman and has many positions and is much networked. However, the chairman cannot make decisions unilaterally, as he has a ten-member local 'cabinet' that draws representation from many segments. The chairman is like a president of the area. Thus, to upgrade Kinawataka, the Partnership needed to go beyond the members of the Federation, and the office of the LC One chairman. Other segments like tenants and political party structures among others needed to be fully engaged. While landlords and Local leaders were the most powerful, the tenants formed

an influential potential voting bloc for the politicians, especially the governing National Resistance Movement (NRM).

Listening to the narratives by Esau Gaukande, (Interview, KCCA, Deputy Director –Gender, Production and Marketing, 13/10/15), it was observed that many government agencies and their representatives are interested in what happens in Kinawataka market. This is so because the Presidency is aware of the development challenges in the area. The profile of the Kinawataka market was raised in 2012 when the SDI global president discussed the projects for the area with the Presidency and senior government officials in Kampala. The area had political adverts all over it, but LC One top leadership is part of the ruling party and government machinery. One does not need to ask, but just see the yellow coloured posters carrying portraits of ruling party politicians to make conclusions about the politics of the area.

The development of this market is known from the national to the local level. The President of Uganda has directly assigned and directed the Director General of KCCA to spearhead the redevelopment process. The attorney general is also aware of this project. There is this kind of support because the president of SDI and KCCA Director General, and Director of Gender, Production and Marketing at KCCA have held meetings to discuss Kinawataka.

Interview, Mr Stephen Byangaba, (Chairman, LC 1, Kinawataka area 12/02/16.

The narrations by Mr Stephen Byangaba were echoed in interviews with many other Federation members. They indicated that many senior politicians and civil servants like the Attorney General have been watching what is happening in Kinawataka. There is nothing one can hide in the area as people have access to top politicians, technocrats and the national security departments. There are different groupings, each with a line of communication to government and politicians. It is established that not every local person in the Kinawataka market area believes in the Partnership's strategies and methodologies as a way of improving the area.

We always have people who do not want to join and work through the Federation process. We have experienced situations where the Federation is struggling to convince some sections of the community to work with the Federation. However, we have some Federation committees whose work goes beyond the Federation and affects entire communities. Our hope is to convince many people here to join the Federation and support the Partnership in Kinawataka projects.

Interview, Representative from Mbuya Federation Network, 17/10/2015.

As contained in chapter 4, the Constitution of Uganda vests land in the people. A common phrase among the research participants is that ‘land belongs to the people.’ It should be noted that a key source of disagreements on settlement interventions by the Partnership is actually land. Landlords, structure owners and tenants fight over land and they all run to the state for protection. However, these segments of society in Nakawa have used different state departments. For example, the landlords have relied much on courts, Department of Lands, and other established institutions dealing with land matters. On the contrary, the Federation members have relied on popular movement punctuated with lobbying and political persuasion for the state to recognise and defend the rights to continue occupying a given piece of land or not to be displaced by land buyers (Interview, Edward, Chairperson, Kampala Central-NSDFU, 15/10/15). In the regional Federation structure, landlords are fewer as they have independently acquired title deeds from MLHUD. The landlords also work with the private land buyers to claim land that is settled on by some community members. This relationship between the relatively wealthy people and landlords has resulted in continuous evictions in all the divisions and areas of Kampala including in the Mbuya network (area). So, while the Federation members, especially tenants, are working to engage the Partnership, individual landlords and landlord committees engage with the Lands Registry to acquire titles and use state police to evict some of the members of the Federation in the division. Not surprising at all, KCCA and the Lands Registry in the MLHUD still endorse evictions in many instances.

There are patches of government land and there are islands of modernity amidst slums in Nakawa, just like is the case for Kampala Central. The key challenge is to consolidate the patches and consolidate titles and develop a systematic landscape for the City. As government, we need to provide the services, and sadly, the target population has not always been able to meet the new development requirements.

Interview, Mr Robert Nyombi, (Assistant Lands Commissioner, MLHUD), 16/02/16.

“The constant evictions driven by KCCA in a bid to conform to the Kampala Master Plan have greatly affected many of our savers most especially in Kampala in the settlements of Banda, and Kisenyi 1, 2, and 3. In an effort to address this, the Federation anti-eviction task force has been formed and sensitized to see to it that constant engagement between KCCA and the federation on alternative measures as opposed to forceful evictions are explored. Municipal forums will be used as a vehicle to address such issues as evictions among others”

(ACTogether, Annual Report, 2014, extract from Letter from the Chairman, NSDFU).

In many instances, landlords in the wider Nakawa division and Kisenyi area sell their land to the private sector, which goes to court to secure eviction notices. This is working to help the landlords at the expense of the majority of tenants and sub-tenants. The tenants are the ones losing most when landlords sell off their land. This research has established that many land buyers use landlords as fronts to displace tenants after land is bought. The tenants, sub-tenants and structure owners are forced to vacate the land especially after some money is given to them as part of the proceeds from the land sales. Research participants narrated that if the tenants or structure owners refuse to accept the money from the landlords, then they lose out completely because they would eventually get evicted by the rich land buyers using fronts through court evictions. This practice is common in Nakawa, and the Kisenyi network where a community near the Federation-run water and sanitation facility was evicted. In some cases, land buyers directly engage with structure owners and show them title papers as proof of having bought the land and tell them that they should get some money from them and leave the plot otherwise, they will completely lose out. The land buyers are stronger, they use courts, state police, KCCA staff, landlords, politicians, and LC Ones to evict long time settlers. In many cases, tenants and structure owners have been on the losing side.

There are many government players with mandates to deliver services to residents of Nakawa. However, the 2010 KCCA Act empowers Nakawa Division Authority with an absolute mandate to govern the division and to provide services for all residents. MLHUD has some degree of mandate, as the Physical Planning Act of 2010 gives them the mandate to oversee land use planning and housing functions in Uganda. It should be noted that Local Government institutions and legislation equally share some degree of mandate on governing Kampala. It was observed that there is fragmentation, contradiction and undermining of each other in the way the state agencies respond to the issues in the slums (Interview, Mark Bwambale, Acting Deputy Director, Directorate of Physical Planning, KCCA, 13/10/15). Just like society is shaped by diverse community segments, the state is also fragmented and responds differently to community issues. Narratives from MLHUD officials indicate that staff from the Ministry feel KCCA has absolute authority on issues affecting Kampala. Indeed, KCCA has its own funding and is empowered to make decisions without necessarily engaging with Ministry officials. Three representatives from KCCA recounted that they operationalise programmes for all government ministries and departments and they have the absolute mandate to regulate and provide services for Kampala. The quotes below illustrate how different state agencies contradict one another in dealing with development issues in the slums of Kampala. The quotes

further show the domineering nature of KCCA and how ACTogether plays the role of mediator in the co-production engagements in the City.

This institutional fragmentation has created considerable conflicts and contradictions during the interventions. We are negotiating with the land owners, with planners and with the slum dwellers so that we do some kind of land sharing in Nakawa. To avoid creating a physical crash of government institutions and ideas, negotiations are strategically facilitated by ACTogether. Without ACTogether, many state agencies would not work together to deliver service for people in the slums.

Interview, Mr Pade Joseph, (Commissioner, Urban Development, MLHUD), 15/10/2015.

We have our own intra-governmental and institutional challenges such as those challenges that KCCA faces. We have KCCA Act, the Department of Physical Planning at Ministry level, the Decentralisation Act and the Physical Planning Act. These institutions are not aligned and as such, there are a number of intra-institutional gaps and contradictions in our operations in Nakawa in particular and in Kampala in general. Each of these institutions pursue their own mandates and responds to co-production initiatives proposed by SDI differently. I think KCCA needs to do more exchange visits for the staff to see how other cities have managed slums.

Interview, Mr. Stephen Bogere, (Senior Sociologist, MLHUD), 20/10/15.

We believe that what people living in slums need the most is reasonable, regular and sustainable income for them to be self-sustaining and be able to afford their needs that include housing and services. As such, we support initiatives in Kinawataka which are meant to open up trading areas for the urban poor. KCCA has got its own regulations. We cannot go and tell them on what they should or should not do. They are independent, but we all have work to do in the slums of Kampala.

Interview, Mr. Samuel Mapala, (Country Team Leader, Cities Alliance), 14/10/2015.

The Directorate of Physical Planning is increasingly beginning to believe that at the centre of any urban development is the human element, otherwise you plan and implement in utopia. You need to bring the plan and subject it to the social issues. You need to deal with the social and economic issues before you do your designs for upgrading. So, planning comes after we have agreed on the activities. We are people-centred and driven by the need to provide services to all the citizens. However, note that KCCA has two mandates: to regulate and to provide services for the communities. If a citizen is not following the laws, then we visit them with our enforcement tools. This part of the mandate is what the city residents do not like. People need to learn to live in an environment that is regulated, otherwise there will be no city to talk about

and the idea of urban rights will not make any sense. We do implement programmes to evict people who trade or build in certain areas we do not allow.

Interview, Harriet, Director, Gender, Production and Marketing- (KCCA), 10/02/2016.

The role of the Directorate of Planning at KCCA has been to ensure to achieve a certain level of decency in the communities. We do encourage the community to do what they can to earn a living because we cannot do certain things under the law and people need to continue to live.

Interview, Mark Bwambale, Acting Deputy Director, Directorate of Physical Planning, KCCA, 13/10/15).

The arguments by officials from KCCA are slowly being taken up in policy documents. For example, review of the draft national urban policy reveals that contradictions are being addressed as the policy seems to focus on a people-centred approach to settlement interventions. The concern in the policy is to address contradictions and address inter-institutional conflicts in order to increase efficiency in the interventions and ensure a liveable City. To transform institutions and make them responsive to urban conditions, ACTogether and the Federation participate actively and sit on the lands policy and solid waste management strategy structures and have objected to the contents of the draft evictions policy.

I want to tell you that sometimes KCCA does rush and do drastic things, sometimes they do not listen anybody and can be harsh, and resort to evictions. They have violently evicted traders in Kinawataka area, quite near to the market project site, in 2015. We think KCCA gets radical in some cases and this is because of limited of exposure to the fact that things can be done differently. We have continued to expose city officials to different ways of doing city planning and service delivery especially for slums. We have hope that the draft urban policy will assist us deal with the contradictions we currently face. It is hoped that implementation of these policies will practically transform the actual practices of KCCA, this we are yet to see.

Interview, Lutwama Muhammed, (Executive Director, ACTogether), 7/02/ 2016.

The activities in the broadening scope phase, from 2014- to 2015, are on-going, and are not Nakawa specific as they form part of the activities for the entire Kampala. From late 2014 till the time of interviewing, the Partnership in Nakawa has been implementing people-centred activities with boosting income a major area of focus. This is similar to what has been happening in the overall case of Kampala and Kawempe. As such, to avoid repetition, I have decided to leave out this section for both sub-cases.

5.4. Conclusion on the Nakawa division sub-case

The Nakawa division sub-case has demonstrated that co-production relations are shaped by social and institutional diversity. The sub-case indicates that the Partnership engages with numerous groups of people who have different interests, experiences, expectations and influences. In this case, while it planned to undertake a market and housing project for the traders and residents, some sections of society objected and demanded to be compensated for their land. Further, political motivations further polarized society and made engagements more complicated. The sub-case has further illustrated that the state system in Kampala lacks coherency in its response to competing voices from the community. The sub-case reveals that in Kampala, both the state and society are fragmented, some actions of the state can also be considered ‘informal’ in that they do not follow the rules, and that decisions are always contested regardless of intentions. The following section presents materials on the second sub-case to show how governance-related initiatives and occurrences shaped co-production engagements in the Kawempe division of Kampala.

5.5 The Kawempe division sub-case

Kawempe is one of the Partnership strongholds for Kampala. The division was the second to implement co-production activities after the Kampala Central division. However, the division faced significant leadership and governance challenges and recorded abuse of funds in the first saving groups. In response, the regional and local Federation leadership implemented a number of mitigation initiatives aimed at promoting transparency and accountability in all co-production engagements and relations. This sub-case seeks to highlight the nature and structure of governance systems, limitations and innovations in the Partnership. As such, the section presents findings on how governance issues affected co-production engagements in the Partnership. The setting-up phase, as explained in the overall case, saw early and unorganised co-production initiatives in Kawempe in 2005 (see figure 3.1). Nothing much in terms of projects happened during this period. The consolidation phase was brief and similar to what obtained in the overall Kampala case. The national scaling-up phase in Kawempe is the main focus for this section. Given that the Kawempe sub-case was characterised by many governance and management challenges and initiatives, the section will emphasise material on governance dynamics.

5.5.1 Consolidation activities

As shown in figure 3.1, in Kawempe, co-production engagements were introduced in 2005 and later, in 2007 and onwards, ACTogether came on board to support the processes. The

organisation took over the technical aspects of the Federation's activities to support early Federation initiatives in the Bwaise I, II and III (Kalimali) areas of the Kawempe division. In addition, and as detailed in the overall case, enumeration and profiling activities preceded all co-production activities in the area. The three initial saving groups in these three areas suffered from setbacks caused by poor leadership and abuse of group funds in the period from 2008-2010, leading to the subsequent dissolution of the groups in the period 2010-2012. The funds were misappropriated by the group leaders (Interview, Ronald Kasalu, Chairman, Kawempe, Federation, 03/02/16). Contrary to national Federation expectations and practices, many local leaders and some group members believed that since the savings are said to belong to them, it was therefore up to them to decide how to use the funds. This created fertile grounds for abuse and subsequent abandonment of groups by members. However, abuses and theft created an opportunity for valuable lessons, and led to re-organisation of the Federation movement in the division through promotion of intra- and inter-institutional democracy in Kawempe. In the later years, the Federation continued growing, became a member of NEC in 2010 and is now one of the strongest divisions for co-production in Uganda. As presented in the next sub-section, much of the transformation started happening in the later years of the consolidation phase and continued into the National scaling-up phase.

In Kawempe, we now have 2, 802 members of different saving groups and networks. We have 33 saving groups which are structured by eight committees that have specific mandates in the Federation activities. The Federation is working in close collaboration with the recently introduced Kawempe MDF. We have always worked very closely with the Kawempe Municipal Division in addressing water challenges, promoting livelihoods, reducing evictions, promoting dialogue and improving solid waste management in the slums.

Interview, Secretary for Kawempe division Federation, 15/10/2015.

5.5.2 National scaling-up phase

During this period, lasting from 2010-2014, the Kawempe division, like Nakawa, was chosen by the Partnership to implement many physical projects as part of the initiative to scale up and achieve physical change at city scale. The projects in the division were part of the national and city-wide programmes. However, project implementation and initiatives for regional transformation fell within the mandate of the regional and local Federation groups as well as KCCA and the Ministry. During this period, co-production engagements in Kawempe involved strengthening of local and regional Federation structures and actual implementation of projects.

It was a period for building systems to enhance accountability and transparency in the expanded co-production engagements.

The Federation members were unequivocal regarding the need to choose leaders based on commitment and loyalty to the Federation's practices. The narratives from the Federation's leaders and members at regional and network levels are that choosing Federation leaders through voting would cause major leadership problems and, during conflicts, the Federation would crumble. The Federation prides itself on the fact that its leadership is based on the notion of sacrifice, self-determination and commitment to making society better. It is expected that people should sacrifice to build and lead the Federation, and that financial or material reward should never be the basis for dedicating oneself to the Federation at all levels.

I was one of the earliest Federation members in Kawempe. The first meeting 'elected and selected' many of us as leaders and we continued with the mobilisation. We are not paid, but merely facilitated to do the work. However, we do allow elections in the Forums because MDFs are co-owned between government and the Federation. For the forums, we had elections late in 2014 and I was this time around elected the President of the Kawempe Development Forum.

Interview, Ronald Kasalu, (Chairman, Kawempe, NSDFU), 03/02/16).

The Executive Director of ACTogether (Lutwama Muhammed, interviewed 23/10/ 2016) stated that the Federation and ACTogether do not agree with government's push for use of elections as a means of choosing leaders in the Federation. The fear among Federation members is that if elections are introduced, the entire Federation and the process of choosing leaders will be monetised. This could rule out a number of potentially honest and capable community leaders who may not be good speakers and may also lack financial resources. As such, the Federation may be turned into a middle class political club. The Federation could be politicised and if this happens, politicians will start fighting the movement. Respondents cited resistance from municipal councillors during the early days of the MDFs as evidence on how sensitive and damaging elections could potentially be to the Federation and its ideals. Supporting the Federation methodologies of choosing Federation leaders, the NEC chairperson explains:

I am the father of the Federation in Uganda. I will continue being chair and its only death and God who will take me away, I love what I do, and nobody pays me. I initiated the Federation activities in 2002. There is no need to vote, not everybody who has money and who can talk well can make a good community leader. Federation is about sacrifice and commitment to the public.

Interview, Mr Hassan Chiberu, (National Chairman, NSDFU), 12/02/2016.

However, research participants from MLHUD contend that the Partnership faces a number of challenges, including the fact the NGO ‘appointed’ some leaders to certain positions in the Federation. The Ministry representatives further revealed that some Federation members have complained to the Ministry, claiming such methods of choosing leaders are unfair and undemocratic. The Country Team Leader of the Cities Alliance, Mr. Samuel Mapala, who happens to be the former Commissioner for urban Development and whose office is based in the MLHUD Building echoed the views of the Ministry on issues of transparency in the Federation’s leadership.

There has been no democracy in the Federation and this is one of the landmark failures of the NGO. When the Federation uses undemocratic processes, and when some people overstay in their positions, they become dictatorial and stop to listen and respect to the members. For example, some people in Kawempe abused group funds and the NEC did not take any action to protect the savers. Leadership problems are common at both regional and national levels. We blame the NGO for this unfortunate situation in the Federation.

Interview, Mr. Samuel Mapala, (Country Team Leader, Cities Alliance), 14/10/2015.

Dominant voices from the Kawempe Federation indicate that strategic leadership and decision making capacity is found at all levels of the Federation movement in the division. As depicted in figure 5.1, decisions about the activities of the Federation are made at group, network, regional and national levels and then the regional leadership interfaces regularly with the national leadership which is headed by the national chairperson of the Federation. Each stage of the Federation leadership interfaces with state officials such as LC Ones, Parish Administrators, councillors, KCCA and Ministry technocrats and ministers. The National Executive Council and the National Executive Committee work closely with the NGO staff to provide strategic direction for the entire Federation.

The Federation has established governance structures in Kawempe and can be reached without difficulties by local councils and higher level government structures. The arrangement makes voices from slums heard at the strategic levels of government. The Ministry can worry about other divisions, but not in Kawempe. We have invested in leadership and governance structures.

Interview, Ronald Kasalu, (Chairman, Kawempe, NSDFU), 03/02/16).

Narratives from both the Federation and Ministry show the disagreements on the modalities of choosing Federation leadership remain unresolved. The NGO questioned the motive for the Ministry's push for elections. The Ministry's senior representatives questioned the NGO's interest in what they called 'controlling the Federation'. At the time of interviewing, no party has confronted the other on this issue and this has created grounds for already existing mistrust between the Ministry and the Federation to increase, thereby accelerating existing low level conflicts between the two giants in the Partnership.

Regarding communication channels, meetings for savings groups are held every week, then network and the regional level meetings are held once per month. The national leadership is supposed to sit once in a quarter. If there is an issue from the community, it goes all the way to the national leadership through this established governance structure. In the same way, when the national federation leadership has issues to communicate to the lower structures, the same channel and structures are used. The Federation and ACTogether hold joint meetings on each Monday to ensure ideas are shared between the Federation and NGO systems. The most important requirement in the division is to ensure accountability and transparency to the lowest Federation structure, the members in the savings groups. In this regard, while the Ministry wanted to see national Federation leadership intervene in the challenges faced by the lower level federation groups in Kawempe between 2008 and 2013, it is a cherished tradition and rule that NEC should not intervene or interfere in the daily management and decisions of saving groups (Interview, Ronald Kasalu, Chairman, Kawempe Federation, 03/02/16).

In certain instances, the National Executive Council formulates some project and Federation rules, then sends them to the region and then the region sends them to the local levels. Differences have emerged in many cases in the division where the community may want to have different things from what higher Federation structures propose. For example, in the case of the Kisenyi network, the rules on management of water and sanitation projects in Kawempe were formulated by NEC. The Federation members in lower level structures in Kawempe and Kisenyi resisted the rules requiring them to pay a percentage of the proceeds from the projects to the national Federation account: they wanted to keep the funds in the local bank account that is controlled by local Federation members. A similar rejection was seen in Nakawa where members prefer managing the funds as compared to the central account managed by NEC. Many community residents and ordinary Federation members feel the infrastructure belongs to them, and so, there is no need to send money to the national Federation account (Suubi fund). But, the initial project agreement had it that the community will have to make use of the project to

contribute to the Suubi fund. The NEC members argued that part of the funds realised from the Kalimali water and sanitation facility have to be used to expand the Federation's reach in Uganda. In this case, NEC pushed the regional Federation leadership to start sending part of the proceeds from the project to the national account. A precedent was already set in Kisenyi when negotiations took years for the regional leadership to start making contributions to the national account. NEC only relied on the project agreement which regional federations sign with the Federation before construction of the project starts. Here, serious power dynamics and conflicts are visible, with communities expressing it clearly that they were forced by NEC to be sending the funds realised from the Kalimali project in Kawempe to the National Federation account.

Secondly, there are cases where divisional Federation chairpersons decide to work with only a few members who later on connived to use the group funds. Some people/leaders took over the projects, made the projects personal and accumulated personal benefits. This meant some group projects became personalised. This happened when the Chairperson and the treasurer of the first three savings groups in Kawempe abused the funds in 2008 through to 2010. This problem was rampant in Kawempe and there was a need to rebuild the movement after repeated abuses and leadership challenges. In Kawempe, the Federation went outside the national and federation practice of resolving conflicts through mediated strategies and not through courts or police or protests. As such, in 2011 and 2013, the Federation in the division took the suspects who included the chairpersons and treasurers to court to recover stolen funds. In 2013, another treasurer for one of the groups in the division was also taken to court to recover the funds.

In 2013, a magistrate ordered the collector who was a woman to pay back a total UGS: 870,000 within a period of one month, and the money was recovered. We had to use courts because there was no way we could recover our funds using our internal rules. We were scared that new groups would also collapse like what happened to the first three groups from 2008 to 2010.

Interview, Kawempe Region Federation Representative, 3/02/2016.

Furthermore, the Federation has significant ideological differences with other partners, particularly those NGOs which work in the housing and waste management sectors (some elements of competition seem to exist). For example, Settlement and Shelter Alternatives (SSA), a local membership NGO which facilitates and funds some co-production engagements such as MDFs and solid waste management, argued that housing development can be anywhere

and the people should be free to go and settle anywhere. SSA argued that in-situ development cannot work in all the circumstances. However, the Federation believes that housing development should be in areas where service delivery is up to standard and where livelihood opportunities exist. The belief is that socio-economic networks for people in slums should not be disturbed. The view held by SSA receives support from all state agencies participating in the Partnership. As such, evictions and relocations have continued happening in Kawempe while the Federation continues struggling to stop them. The state has continued to step out of the Partnership and resort to the use of enforcement tools to impose the evictions.

For example, SSA does believe that there can be planned evictions. But we do not believe in resettlements, evictions and we do not support these issues at all. SSA has been calling for meetings to discuss planned evictions, but we rarely participate in such agendas. We know evictions are sometimes inevitable but we are not supporters of such and we are very clear about it to our partners or funding agencies. Interestingly, the state does support SSA in such unwelcome moves but also strongly supports SDI rituals. We will continue to push for change in both urban development instruments, policies and action by the state.

Interview, Ms Hellen Namweru, (ACTogether, Official), 12/10/15.

The relationship between the Federation and ACTogether is, by and large, shaped by the role of professionals in implementing co-production engagements. ACTogether does not implement, but helps the Federation to lead in the implementation of many co-production initiatives. Both the NGO and the Federation are required to be transparent and accountable to each other. The Federation members argue that ACTogether is accountable to the people and community leaders and not to their external partners. The role of professionals (such as architects and planners) in the co-production processes has been more of providing guidance in the design and execution of co-production projects in which the Federation has a leading role. The professionals have built the capacity of the Federation in many technical aspects such as auditing, savings, project design, project planning, construction, and production of alternative construction materials, documentation as well as providing advice on how to build and sustain partnerships. The Federation had equally managed to train city officials and other partners by training them on alternative ways of engaging with slums. Members of staff from ACTogether have never been allowed to make decisions without the approval and support of Federation counterparts. So, all the departments continued to be co-chaired by the NGO and Federation leadership and decisions are jointly made.

However, many respondents indicated that depending on the issues, the NEC Chairperson does make decisions for the Federation. In the processes, narratives by some NEC leaders and leaders in the savings groups indicate that occasional unilateral decisions by the NEC Chairperson lead to discontent among the Partnership members and creates misunderstandings and suspicions as they open chances and spaces for favouritism. While the Federation protested unilateral decision making by the sixth Executive Director of ACTogether, there were no major complaints from the Federation members in Kawempe about the NEC Chairman. However, key officials from the MLHUD said they had received complaints from the Federation members and that they were deeply concerned about suspected abuse of office at NEC level. It was established that the Ministry had never issued a complaint to the NGO or Federation despite their concerns. The Ministry and the Federation/NGO are tied to each other through the 2013 MoU and joint funding for projects like USMID.

Largely, the conflict between technocrat staff and Federation members, is caused by NGO staff who make decisions without consulting the Federation colleagues. This creates some kind of mistrust and creates cracks between the two institutions.

Joint Interview, Sara and Edith (National Leaders), 06/02/2016.

I no longer take the trouble of explaining the projects and the designs. The Federation members in Kawempe do explain the details of project and engineering designs. They know project partners, the number of bags of cement used, and the nature and quantity of construction materials used. However, when you over entrust the Federation members, connect them too much to the KCCA, then they start feeling that they are also engineers or they start feeling like KCCA staff. It's challenging to balance the two imperatives.

Interview, Mr. Waiswa Kakaile, (Engineer, ACTogether), 27/04/2016.

Many Federation representatives and NGO staff argued that when Madam Ibanda was appointed in 2009/2010 as the sixth Executive Director of ACTogether, she started working against the ideals of the Federation. Claims were made that Ms Ibanda had links with the MLHUD and used those links to disturb the operations of the Federation. It was claimed that she was not pro-community as she was making decisions without consulting the Federation. However, the Federation was able to see the changes in leadership and resisted what they called her undemocratic machinations.

Sara Ibanda misbehaved and she refused to give us accountability and she could not tell us how much funds we had received. We shouted and this is our plan B if technocrats do not follow

what the Federation wants. The technocrats have many plans and we stop their dirt deals mid-way through what we call plan B. We have the networks and we know what is happening in the NGO and in the entire Federation and in the City. We want to maintain a transparent and open Federation processes and its key role in the co-production processes.

Interview, Ms Katana Goleti, (National Treasurer, NSDFU), 08/02/2016.

Technical staff in government and ACTogether fear that when community members are empowered, they have a tendency to advance special interests for personal gain. Some NGO staff recounted that abuse was seen when some early Federation leaders were empowered to lead others and to work closely with KCCA staff. In Kawempe, funds were abused and it took some years to correct the situation. The officials from ACTogether further argued that many empowered community members create cartels of community people who overtake projects and that this almost killed the volunteer spirit of the Federation in Kawempe. It is clear that some members feel that they are empowered enough and need to take charge of all activities, potentially at the expense of other members of communities and groups. The NGO, however, argues that there is no such a thing as ‘empowered enough’. Federation respondents maintained that the Federation acts like a watchdog for NGO staff. The Federation members shout and force the NGO staff to respect the roles of the Federation. It was observed that the NGO and state officials at the MLHUD are aware of the fact that the Federation is strong and can challenge the actions of the technocrats. The example of how the Federation forced the sixth NGO Executive Director to resign is always cited as a good one by the Federation on how they always keep the technical staff in check.

The empowerment is visible, we see people becoming very bold and engaging with critical issues. The members of the national working team and some regional leaders have gained so much knowledge in projects, communication skills, networking skills, research skills, public speaking, report writing skills, presentation skills and they become more self-centred and this create differences within the Partnership. We have had disagreements on dividing the roles between the Federation and the NGO in co-production. We have heard Federation members say the NGO members of staff know less in matters of upgrading.

Interview, Hellen Namweru, and Isaac Sonko, ACTogether Officials, 12/10/2015.

The Federation members have been empowered and now they are able to meet all officers and politicians at any time. They know exactly what they want in terms of systems, individuals, materials, and skills to transform their own living conditions.

Interview, Sara Nambozo, Leader, NSDFU, 19/10/2015.

The Federation should start making independent decisions on how they should be governed. When the Federation starts shouting to technocrats working for the NGO, then that should be seen as progress on the empowerment front. The Federation must be empowered to halt wrong doing by technocrats from all institutions (NGO and state). In an event that a leader is not delivering, the decision that a failing leader should step down should come from the bottom. It should be people from respective groups, or the region who should tell the person to step down.

Interview, Skye Dobson, (Former Executive Director, ACTogether) 05/12/2015.

The most difficult part for a professional in the NGO and in government is to connect people's dreams to the realities that characterise life in the slums. This has always been an issue of contention, particularly when it comes to government standards and people's demands. This issue has largely been solved by exposing Partnership members to the activities of other federations across the world.

Government is usually against our stance because they do not know the quality of the materials the Federation has been using in the constructions. As a an engineer from ACTogether, I have always worked with planners, architects, engineers at KCCA to ensure that the people have spaces to actualise their dreams of constructing infrastructure to serve their local needs. Very senior staff directing state departments, simply chase you and say you will kill people. After long persuasions, the state does not change the policy but they simply say let's try it. So, it is hard to work in between the government and the community interests. To solve some of these challenges for Kawempe, the staff from Kawempe Division had to be taken through all the design procedures and quality of materials for the facility, and then the authority agreed to endorse the works at Kalimali.

Interview, Waiswa Kakaile, (Official, ACTogether), 8/02/2016

Both the Federation movement and state officials argued that there were vibrant interactions between state and Federation structures. There was also a constant exchange between ACTogether and the Federation. It was observed that Federation members had been empowered to an extent that they were able to effectively engage with all partners to participate in dialogue during co-production. There were also instances when the Federation, as a key member of the Partnership, took a hard stance to resist undemocratic decisions or failures by the authorities to deliver as expected in Kampala.

I want to tell you that we have the mechanism to speak to power and we are respected, listened to and our issues are taken seriously. What is key for the Federation movement in Uganda is to

ensure that groups and community members have begun to question their leaders at group, network and regional levels and in government. We are working to increase the autonomy and financial independence of the Federation to promote sustainability and accountability in all that we do as a Federation. We do not fight government, in fact they are our core partner, but we have resisted their control of the Federation through mechanisms like engaging the Mayors and Town Clerks directly to register our demands.

Interview, Mr Hassan Chiberu, Chairman, NSDFU, 12/02/2016.

When the mayor and the old mama sit in one room to debate a broken-down water facility that serves as life line for the community, then you witness the real power of communities and you witness the embarrassment caused in the eyes of the politician and technocrats. So, there is real engagement and real spaces for residents to speak to power and politics and for them to change things on the ground

Interview, Skye Dobson, (ACTogether) 05/12/2015.

5.5.3 Conclusion on the Kawempe division sub-case

The Kampala sub-case reveals that governance and decision-making processes are key aspects of co-production in Kawempe, in particular, and Kampala in general. The Kawempe sub-case has shown that co-production is shaped by conflicted NGO-Federation relations. However, neither the Federation nor NGO has adopted violent conflicts as a strategy to force the state into a particular direction. Thus, the conflicted nature of the relations has allowed for innovations and growth of the Federation while ensuring that power and resource abuses in both the Federation and the NGO are watched and stopped. Furthermore, the sub-case has shown that Federation governance and Partnership management systems determined how co-production was arranged and executed in the division. The intra-Federation relations were not conflict free, just as the relationship between the state and the Federation was not smooth either. Major causes of conflicts in the Partnership were encouraged by community leadership and governance related matters.

5.6 Conclusion

The findings indicate that from 2002 to 2015 co-production engagements and relations in Kampala have been implemented and shaped largely by a tripartite set of relations involving the Ministry responsible for urban development, the local authority and organised community residents through the Federation and ACTogether. The relations are shaped by SDI-sanctioned methodologies which in some cases have forced the state to operate outside national and municipal regulations. It is established that the state is largely responsive to the innovations and methodologies initiated by the grassroots organisations in the slums. However, the relations are continuously shaped by the manifestations of power and low-level conflict. The

conflicts are fuelled by diversity within society and state systems. The case of the Kampala Central division reveals that conflicts among partners are induced by contradicting state policies and programmes and the existence of deep differences in approach and methodology. The Nakawa division sub-case shows that both the state and society are fragmented, and that decisions are always contested, regardless of intentions. In the Kawempe division sub-case, failures and successes in co-production are determined by Partnership and community governance arrangements and dynamics. Above all, the three cases show that in Kampala, there is a shift towards a deliberative tradition which redefines planning 'expertise' as partial and circumstantial, and fosters an understanding that interests in planning, management and governance are neither neutral nor impartial. This, in turn, necessitates a redefinition of community residents as active, knowledgeable subjects and stakeholders, and a reconceptualisation of planning as the enrolment of both expert and lay knowledge, acting in an open, experimental, and democratic manner in an uncertain environment. The next chapter answers the key research questions by analysing the findings presented in this chapter in the context of the theoretical framework, as presented in chapter 2.

CHAPTER 6

ANALYSIS AND SYNTHESIS

6.0 Introduction

Chapter 6 is closely linked to chapter 5. It uses findings of the research and draws on the theoretical framework presented in chapter 2 to systematically address the five research questions outlined in chapter 3. Thus, chapter 6 integrates empirical and theoretical materials in order to achieve a theoretically-backed interpretation of co-production engagements and relations in Kampala. The research questions seek to establish the basis for interpretation of how co-production engagements in the City of Kampala provide empirical support for an enhanced theoretical framework in planning, which contributes to ideas of state-society engagement in the cities of the South. Accordingly, chapter 6 provides the theoretical significance of the case and provides the basis on which to contribute new perspectives and knowledge on co-production, as presented in chapter 7.

The remainder of this chapter is divided into five sections. The second section discusses the interface between state, Federation (organised community residents) and ACTogether and addresses the research question on how the community and NGO have engaged with the state in the co-production process. In the third section, relationships within and between communities and the NGO are analysed, in order to understand where there was cohesion in this relationship and where there were divisions. The fourth section discusses relationships within the state to address the research questions on state response and involvement in co-production processes. The fifth section provides a conclusion to this chapter by summarising major arguments.

6.1 State-society interaction in the process of co-production

This section seeks to address research questions which generated empirical findings on how communities and the state related in different ways during the co-production process. It shows that it is not always possible to assume that such interactions will be collaborative (as communicative and collaborative planning theory has suggested) and that at times co-production can also involve conflict and resistance. Given that the question of power runs across all the research questions, this section also addresses aspects of power as a dominant structuring principle in the relationship between the state and communities/ACTogether. The section argues that co-production as an alternative planning approach repositions planning as potentially both a collaborative and conflicted process, depending on strategies adopted by

communities and the state. The following paragraphs summarise theoretical ideas (from chapter 2) guiding the interpretation of findings on state-society relations in Kampala.

The relationship between ‘the citizen’ and ‘the state’ in many global South cities seldom resembles the kinds of deliberative democratic models of citizen participation promoted by normative discourses on state-society relations in the mainstream planning literature. Actual urban governance in the South includes various layers of relations involving those between the state and civil groups as well as those within and between civil groups (Lindell, 2008). Many regions of the South are characterised by weak institutions, lack of adequate information, high levels of poverty and inequality, which in turn act as barriers to discursive decision making processes (Robins et al, 2008). Corbridge, et al (2005) call for a nuanced analysis and understanding of various ways people encounter the state as ‘a citizen, client and/or subject’ in post-colonial cities. “Theorising the entangled geographies of state and society in postcolonial society” (Corbridge et al, 2005: 19) opens up analysis to narratives and spaces for manoeuvre, agency and negotiation in postcolonial urban contexts (Das and Poole, 2004). In the global South, ‘urban governance’ encompasses multiple sites where practices of governance are exercised and contested, displaying a variety of players, various layers of relations and a broad range of practices of governance with various modes of power at different scales. Clientelism and patronage are very much part of socio-political cultures as citizens straddle ‘civil society’ and ‘state’ spaces. In the cities of the South, strategies of survival and well-being depend on the ability to establish multiple strategic relationships and become legible to a number of powerful players.

In the face of the multiplication of players and conflicting rationalities, state-centric perspectives of governance that focus exclusively on the workings of the formal institutions of the state are considered insufficient for grasping the complex webs of power at work in many cities in the global South. In the South, the multiplicity of power centres shape the relations between society and the state, making the engagements fluid, multiple, complex, conflicted and sometimes informal. While policymakers extol the virtues of democratic citizenship and participation, in reality, “existing forms of participation in many parts of the global South do not conform to these idealised models” (Robins et al, 2008:1070).

However, the process of promoting a different way of managing cities and regions is not always smooth. Positions and knowledge epistemologies are contested. According to Robins et al (2008), it is more realistic in post-colonial contexts to build on existing practices and strategies,

including social protest, all of which people regularly use to secure resources. Ploger (2004:73) emphasises the “importance of respecting the role of strife and agonism in real-world planning practice.” Bradlow (2013:128) argues that partnerships between organised “community residents and state systems provide space for conflict between grassroots players and institutions of the state.” The conflicts force each party to search for and articulate the values that they bring to co-production processes seeking to deliver services. In the process of engagements, conflicts ensue and allow for the parties to rethink their positions and methodologies in co-production engagements. In this regard, it is clear that conflicts provide opportunity for reflective actions to improve planning and policy outcomes. As such, co-production relations do involve and accept use of conflict where necessary, as well as collaboration to achieve real gains for communities and households. The next sub-section explains how state-society relations in Kampala show elements and aspects of collaboration.

6.1.1 Collaborative engagements between the state and society in co-production processes in Kampala

The co-production approach uses tools which allow the state to operate outside its ‘legal normal’ practices and broadens its knowledge base and scope to recognise informal settlements and creates spaces for collaboration to transform communities. The approach allows actors to contest rationalities (of state and society) to champion innovations in development standards, construction technology and governance in Kampala. Further, low level conflicts allow entrenched state practices to be challenged and modified to craft a new collaborative urban future that is based on reality. Community resistance and low level conflicts led to collaboration when the state modified its position on matters such as construction standards and the number of informal settlements among others. Thus, quiet encroachment tended to protect spaces of opportunities for the Federation members (Bayat, 2010; Perera, 2016; Simone, 2001). The state and communities have collaborated in a number of ways to recognise informal settlements and improve living conditions for community residents. This happens when the interests of state and communities align to the benefit of both. The creation of a formal tripartite Partnership was a way of sending out a public statement that state and communities were working together. The Partners include the then KCC and now KCCA as the City authority, MLHLD as a custodian of national policies and programmes for urban development, and communities which have been organised by the Federation and ACTogether. However, it needs to be understood that while a formal partnership exists, this does not imply that all parties always act in unison or are always in agreement on all actions carried out in the name of the Partnership. Often initiatives and activities were introduced and managed by one member of the Partnership, with

other members in agreement but not always playing an active role. The term Partnership is used below to refer to all parties, but on the understanding that it did not always act as a single and united entity. The Partnership involved constant management of power dynamics. Similarly to Foucauldian ideas on power as capillary, the state and community systems and players embodied power which was constantly channelled and regulated through the use of co-production tools to ensure productive engagements.

The Partnership (in this case initiated by the Federation and ACTogether, with ACTogether having a key role) has used learning and knowledge generation to shift positions in state agencies to consolidate community action in all co-production engagements. This was one way of taming excessive state power that was previously seen in widespread evictions and demolitions. Thus, new ways of learning the City formed a major anchor of co-production in Kampala. Enumerations have been used to consolidate community knowledge and response which ultimately was intended to prove that the communities knew what they were doing during the engagements. The first enumeration activity in Kisenyi III of Kampala Central division revealed community development issues, listed potential players in the upgrade efforts and indicated potential challenges during the upgrading. Enumerations have been used in Nakawa and Kawempe divisions to inform KCCA and the Ministry about development issues in these divisions. The current calculation of the extent of slums in the City was arrived at after community-led enumeration reports were used to augment and improve the reports development by KCCA and the National Water and Sewerage Corporation. As such, while contested (as argued later in this section), enumerations have been used to push the boundaries of knowledge and state action about slums. From 2002 to 2015, hundreds of community-led enumerations and profiling have been undertaken and this has led to significant shifts in the way city officials understand and consider slums in their development frameworks and plans. Communities have also been mobilised using enumerations and now community action has been consolidated to either support or resist state actions on informal settlements.

A second way in which attempts have been made to ensure collaboration (managing the power interface) between the state and communities is through the arrangement of exchange visits, with the lead taken by ACTogether. ACTogether has been organising and fully financing international exchange visits for strategic government officials to expose them to another way of engaging with slum communities. The exchange visits, involving the Federation leaders, ACTogether, KCCA technical staff, senior Ministry officials, have involved travelling to India, Kenya, Tanzania, and South Africa, among other countries. Travelling together meant that

community members and state members came to know each other informally and act as a united group. The exposure in host countries was a form of experiential learning for both state and community representatives as they could see exactly how alternative approaches were working.

The NGO has used these exchange visits to both directly and indirectly exert pressure (power and influence) on KCCA to review its policies and regulations that exclude the people in informal settlements from active participation in the development of the City. The NGO managed to secure the support of KCCA in matters of alternative building technologies and now KCCA and the national government have fully recognised the Walukuba Materials Learning Centre in Jinja as a source of materials for urban construction in the slums and other areas. Further, KCCA used exchange visits to India to win support of the Ministry and that of KCCA to sign a Memorandum of Understanding (MoU) in 2013 for co-production arrangements involving Transforming Settlements of the Urban Poor in Uganda (TSUPU) and Support to Municipal Infrastructure Development (USMID) projects. Furthermore, the NGO exerts its influence through its offer of community development funds. It is established that KCCA and the NGO do counterpart funding for many projects in the City. For example, KCCA and ACTogether have an agreement to do counterpart funding for the urban renewal programme, beginning with the Kinawataka market and housing redevelopment project, and also to jointly fund livelihood projects and activities across the City. Through these funding agreements, KCCA is motivated to collaborate with the NGO.

To augment these strategies, the NGO equally employs strategic lobbying of key and influential officials in the Ministry and KCCA. For example, it was observed that the Ministry contact Office (Senior Sociologist- Mr. Stephen Bogere) for co-production engagements is a very strategic entry point for any Ministry engagement by the NGO and the Federation. Furthermore, the Directorate of Gender, Production and Marketing in KCCA seems to anchor all the collaborations between KCCA and communities in informal settlements. ACTogether mediates and ensures that the process of state-society engagement is effective and that conflicts are well mediated to avoid unproductive engagements. Above all, ACTogether has the capability to engage with communities, and mobilise and organise them for community action. Given their pro-poor mandate to deliver services to all and promote production in the informal settlements of Kampala, KCCA benefits a great deal from working with communities through the NGO. It could be said that the NGO is undertaking necessary participatory processes for state agencies and relieving them of the pressure to do so directly.

The other area of successful co-production involves the use of savings, loans and grants from the partners to address income poverty and improve livelihoods. Savings have formed a key pillar of the mobilisation drive in the co-production engagements in the City. Savings have built the Federation's capacity and have been used to build and determine the extent of loyalty of community residents to the rituals and practices of the SDI. To be recognised as community-based organisations, the saving groups are required to register with KCCA and with the Slum Dwellers Federation of Uganda. All registered groups in all the divisions are eligible to access loans from ACTogether and grants from KCCA. During an interview with Esau Gaukande, (KCCA, Deputy Director – Gender, Production and Marketing, 13/10/15), community groups receive a once off average of five million Ugandan Shillings²⁵ as KCCA grant to invest in various income generating activities. Both KCCA and ACTogether have provided grants and loans respectively to hundreds of groups in all the three cases studied. The major activities for the groups include poultry, mushroom production, soap making and loaning. The groups are formed by the Federation and receive training in project design and implementation. Further, Community Development Officers (CDO) at division councils sensitize the groups on the procedures for applying for grants from KCCA. The application is group-based and has to start with LC 1 endorsement before being sent to the CDO. The Directorate of Gender, Production and Marketing works closely with CDOs in the implementation of the livelihood programme through grants and loans. As such, both KCCA and ACTogether target the same groups in their funding of community-initiated projects to increase production, fight urban poverty and create jobs for slum dwellers. However, given that KCCA is one of the well-funded organs of the State in Uganda, ACTogether hopes the funding from KCCA to the Partnership would increase. The impact of the Partnership on community development would tremendously increase if KCCA could increase the amount of budget allocation to community development through the Partnership. The TSUPU and USMID projects have increased the capacity in the Federation to lead in community development planning, regulation, monitoring and evaluation, record keeping, and procurement but this is being underutilised due to low funding levels from KCCA (ACTogether, 2014).

The other area of successful co-production involves promotion of innovation in the building and construction industry for people in informal settlements. The Federation and ACTogether have implemented numerous exchange activities to promote knowledge and information sharing. Co-production in Kampala involves many cases where partners have operated outside

²⁵ 100 Ugandan shillings = 0.28 US\$ December 10th 2016

the regular national and local government planning and construction regulations. In this regard, the Federation has established a materials learning centre in Jinja specializing in the production and promotion of low cost building materials for low income people. This has created a strong momentum for upscaling of building innovations by the Partnership. Furthermore, after exchange visits to India, both KCCA and the Ministry have appreciated the need for community savings to anchor all interventions in informal settlements. The saving groups have created the momentum for change and have been used by various state agencies to secure community support for livelihood projects, communal water and sanitation projects, household toilets, and acquisition of land for community projects. These initiatives made communities become change movers and innovators. The state seemed to base its trust of the Federation on what communities accomplished locally and elsewhere through co-production. There was documented proof that communities knew what they wanted and were willing to innovate, act and monitor. The next section illustrates how co-production can be a conflicted and contested process.

6.1.2 Conflicts in the interaction between state and society in the co-production process

Conflict in the co-production process in Kampala has occurred but has not taken the form of violence and ‘insurgency’ (the term used by James Holston to describe civic resistance in urban Brazil). As indicated in chapter 2, conflicts and community resistance to manipulative state policies and actions during co-production in Kampala take subtle and covert forms. Communities in Uganda are generally less inclined to open and violent protest on the issue of service provision when their demands are not met, and are more inclined to covert resistance. Community action on service provision and recognition of informal settlements appears to take a form that is closer to the ideas of Asef Bayat in the context of the Middle East (Bayat, 2010; as well as Perera, 2016). Bayat argues that instead of waiting for an uncertain revolution, many people in this region are more likely to support a non-violent approach to reform based on strongly organised social movements. Those urban citizens who lack the institutional power of disruption are more likely to assert their demands through the use of public space: selling goods on the street or building shacks on land even where it is illegal. Bayat calls this the ‘quiet encroachment of the ordinary’. The Federation also follows a strategy of SDI which is anti-violence²⁶. The majority of the members are women²⁷, and therefore there is a need to protect

²⁶ <http://www.ids.ac.uk/news/militaristic-responses-to-urban-violence-don-t-work-new-film-from-slum-dwellers-argues>, accessed 1/12/2016.

²⁷ Uganda is politically divided, and when there are political divisions in Kampala these can erupt in violent conflict.

the rights of women to participate. Where protests turn violent, they argue, women are excluded.

While published cases of co-production show that a degree of collaboration can be achieved between state and communities, it is also possible for conflict to emerge and for communities and NGOs to resort to using conflict and resistance as a strategy to put pressure on the state. Intra-state subdued conflicts existed on a number of issues. One clear example involves KCCA approval for evictions and the resistance by the Ministry. Secondly, intra-community disagreements and low level conflicts came to the surface when sectional interests such as those of land owners got threatened in Mbuya sub-case of Nakawa division. The Federation uses 'quiet conflict' by for example boycotting meetings called by the Department of Urban Development in the Ministry to come up with an Evictions Policy for Uganda. The Ministry has been pushing for the support of ACTogether, Federation and KCCA to actualise this policy. Aspects of co-production of this nature have failed to succeed because it was observed that certain of the partners are strongly opposed to this. Conflicts exist largely due to existence of conflicting rationalities (Watson, 2003) that shape community interventions and state-society relations. The state interprets these interventions differently from the way segments of community residents do. Differences occur due to, among other factors, politics of livelihood and survival for both state and community individuals and groupings. While all the cases experienced conflicts during co-production, a conflict of rationalities was more vivid in Nakawa at Kinawataka sub-case of Nakawa division. Here, community groups and the state differed on the approach to take to upgrade the market and housing for the local residents.

The use of co-production tools in Kampala did not mean the automatic implementation of co-production initiatives by the state. In the Kisenyi area, it was found that the state did not honour the initial agreement to scale up co-production projects. Some residents from Kisenyi I, II and III areas became frustrated at the state's failure to make land and financial resources available for project implementation. This challenged the previously expected mutual and collaborative partnership and communities had to express anger through reports questioning why state agencies could not respond according to earlier promises, as directed by the Minister during the Partnership formation and signing ceremony. Some communities resorted to use of non-conventional methods such as confrontational reports detailing community frustration at the state's failure to upscale co-production interventions in the Kisenyi sub-case of Kampala Central division. In Kisenyi, this led to many community residents in Kisenyi I and Kisenyi II withdrawing from the Partnership activities as a way of challenging entrenched and

unresponsive administrative practices by the Kampala City Council (KCC) and the Ministry. As analysed in chapter 5 (Kampala Central division), the withdrawal dampened the Minister's and SDI (global) President's enthusiasm on use of alternative methodologies to address the slum challenges in Kampala. This created an early crisis in the agreement between the state and communities. Communities also recounted that during the crisis period lasting from about 2006-2009, KCC was embroiled in schemes to ward off decapitating national government influence and hence, was seen as not focused on service delivery and was accused of incompetence and corruption (see chapter 4). As such, most activities were only done by the Federation and the NGO. Prior to the creation of KCCA in 2010 and signing of the MoU in 2013, the poor relationship between communities and the state threatened the continuation of the agreement as endorsed and supported by the Minister and SDI. As such, low level conflict has always characterised co-production activities and relations in Kampala.

Power cannot be wished away in state-society engagements in planning. The state makes policies and development frameworks, finances projects, and takes action that affects communities. On the other hand, communities in Kampala used co-production tools to exercise their power and influence on their relations and engagements with the state during co-production engagements. So, state-society relations are imbued with the exercise of power around issues of land access, resource allocation and development regulations and standards which almost inevitably give rise to disagreements. Depending on these interactions, communities had to either collaborate or oppose the engagement outcomes using the same tools of co-production. With a strong civic movement that has mobilised communities to stand against manipulative state agencies, communities were on the one hand willing to collaborate and achieve real gains, and on the other hand, they are willing to resist state's unresponsive tendencies, while avoiding outright violence.

In this whole engagement process, while ACTogether planned to remain in the background, its influence came to the fore when it engaged communities during capacity building to somehow direct community action in co-production processes. For example, communities were equipped with tools meant to promote collaboration, and also were taught to use alternative mechanisms such as resisting violent evictions. To covertly resist the state's manipulative actions, ACTogether and the Federation have always boycotted meetings to discuss draft policies on evictions as demanded by the Ministry and other NGOs such as Shelter and Settlement Alternatives (SSA). In addition, communities have resisted state involvement in the management of the Federation and its funds by rejecting the state's demands to set up a body

to manage the savings fund. They equally rejected the state's support for and 'imposition' of the sixth Executive Director of ACTogether who was accused of ignoring communities in decision making and project implementation. The Kampala case thus questions the extent to which power neutrality is attainable to enable harmonious collaboration and dialogue to deal with complex community dynamics and differences in the cities of the South.

Co-production engagements in Kampala have deployed a mix of strategies and mechanisms involving both conflict and collaboration to deal with different situations. Findings indicate that the partners adopted the MDFs as a platform for promoting multi-stakeholder participation to promote an inclusive and sustainable urban development. In the forums, genuine effort was being made by the partners to encourage collaboration, build relationships and nurture deliberation on city planning and development. During the forums, built environment professionals from the state and ACTogether deployed their pragmatic reality checking skills to subject their institutional functions to the realities of society as presented by various forum attendees. Interviews with various research participants established that during the forums, state officials often manipulate relationships, resisting some proposals and promoting others. For example, it was established in the early days of the MDFs, KCCA division councillors told the stakeholders to drop the idea of the MDFs because Forums would usurp powers of KCCA decision-making organs. Further, relatively wealthy landlords requested some officials in KCCA to remove the participation of residents of informal settlements in the forums based on the argument that MDFs would endorse perceived wrong doing such as land encroachments by the residents of informal settlements. However, state technocrats endeavoured to explore and promote the role of the forums in the development of Kampala. On the other hand, KCCA does not accept all the demands that communities make. For instance, evictions continue to cause turbulence in the Partnership. Influenced by real estate developers (largely housing), and landlords' associations, KCCA occasionally implements what ACTogether and the Ministry referred to as 'harsh activities' that violates the spirit of co-production in Kampala. In response to these state interventions, community groups have resisted through lobbying in the forums, written complaints and through clientelistic relations. This makes state-society engagements in Kampala non-linear and conflict-laden.

In Nakawa division, it was established (see chapter 5) that each group in the community had a line of communication with many different state players and agencies. Some groups and individuals protected their interests by contacting politicians and different state agencies while others like women traders used popular mobilisation to convince members of the Federation to

resist co-production projects meant to upgrade the market and improve housing. Upgrade proposals in Kinawataka were resisted by holding back on land for the projects (See chapter 4 and 5 on land tenure systems) by various groups because firstly, land owners feared they would lose their land, a source of rent income. Secondly, the traders, largely women, feared a hike in rent prices and service charges after the market is upgraded. This reflected clashes of rationalities between expert planners and those planned for especially in a city where it is very difficult to construct dialogue or reach consensus, and where individuals and groups regard each other from within different rationalities.

The diversity of groups in Kinawataka illuminates a deeper incongruence between the everyday realities which confront planning and the philosophical roots which have traditionally informed planning thought (see chapter 4). The networks created fertile ground for clientelism to flourish in the ways the state engages different elements of the City. While the NRM politicians need the support of local residents of communities, as was the case in Kinawataka, community residents also have direct benefits in terms of securing tangible gains like resisting relocations against their will. Clientelism and politics of patronage seem to make areas like Kinawataka well known to political leaders, hence, securing protection for communities against some actions of KCCA and private land developers. Accordingly, the communities in Kampala use a mix of strategies to exert their influence on the state. Hoping to get political backing during elections, it was observed that politicians, especially the high level political leadership of NRM, maintained direct connection with community residents through LC One leaders at community level. As such, most decisions would not get community support if they do not involve active endorsement of LC One leadership.

It is observed that while forums are intended to promote the spirit of collaboration in city building, not all participants expect to achieve consensus but, instead, the goal of the Forum is “to raise awareness among all city residents” (ACTogether, 2016:6) about City development challenges, and especially about living conditions in the slums. To achieve real community gains from the MDF deliberations, communities deployed non-violent tactics such as lobbying and persuasive discourses in support of certain established positions like implementing community cleaning, among others. During the forums, it was observed that populism among politicians, generalised interests from communities, and strategic action coexisted with collaborative politics and communicative action. The analysis of narratives on forums suggest that it cannot be assumed that forum participants could behave openly, collaboratively, and with integrity, while being faced with interest alignments they perceive as conflicting with their

own respective agendas. Thus, forums have been a contested zone of participation by all partners but nonetheless have led to positive transformation in the way KCCA implements projects in the slums of Kampala. Communities have used the forums to publicly criticise KCCA and landlords on evictions and poor service delivery. The response from KCCA has involved both conflicts and collaboration. Conflicts have involved use of forceful means to evict land owners in informal areas while collaborative acts have been transformative as KCCA has sought to engage more with the Federation to deal with complex community development such as land access.

Another area of conflict has involved contested interests in the management of Federation groups and its funds. Regarding savings, the Ministry has been trying hard to ensure centralised control and management of savings groups. There have been strong calls by the Ministry to have group funds controlled by ACTogether, or even another organisation. In relation to this, the Ministry demands that choosing Federation leaders must be based on elections and should be linked to a specific tenure of office. It is clear, however, that ACTogether and Federation members are sceptical about the interests of the Ministry in making these demands; also, this contravenes established SDI methodologies and principles. Differences run deep but silent on how best to manage the savings and how to choose leaders. There is mistrust (suspected abuses) by some Ministry officials on how savings and leadership are handled. On the other hand, the Federation and ACTogether feel that the state has no role in the management of savings, and in choosing Federation leaders. The disagreement has continued to result in conflicted relations between the NGO and the Ministry and this harms the collaborative elements in co-production engagements. While the state has continued to complain about governance in the Federation, the Federation and ACTogether have prevented it from dictating the rules of the game as they pertain to Federation activities from local to national levels. However, in response to the state's concerns and in line with its internal organisational development initiatives, the Federation and the NGO have invested in sensitising the community through meetings, workshop-based trainings on leadership accountability, transparency, and the role of trust in building the Federation and savings at community level. Thus, the communities have always resisted the desire of the state to take an active role in controlling the savings and community based organisations operating as saving groups.

6.1.3 Strategies and practices of the state to regulate communities and the NGO

This section analyses the different strategies and practices that the state used to regulate or control community practices and strategies for settlement upgrading. The section analyses how

power is channelled through state entities to regulate the conduct of others during co-production. Though fragmented, the state at national level, as well as in Kampala, has definite ways of exerting power in relation to communities and the NGO during co-production engagements in Kampala. Regarding enumeration of slum areas by the slum-dwellers (which SDI regards as an exercise of community empowerment on the grounds that ‘knowledge is power’), the Ministry attempts to claim the final say over what is authentic data, and has maintained that the enumeration reports prepared by the Federation and ACTogether cannot be used as official documents unless the Uganda National Bureau of Statistics (UNBS) becomes a participant in the entire process of doing community surveys. Similarly, while the Directorate of Gender, Production and Marketing at KCCA has not presented any concerns regarding the enumeration reports, the Directorate of Planning at KCCA has indicated that the reports can only inform planning officially if the UNBS is part of the process. The argument is that the accuracy of the reports and the definition of certain terms and concepts, like inadequate housing, by the Federation is not in line with national official standards and adopted concepts. Fearing significant departure from the SDI’s methodologies, the Federation has resisted this demand for many years. As such, the Ministry has, over the years, used the reports informally to guide decision making on matters that affect slums in the City. However, given the huge investment and existence of key joint projects such as USMID, the Federation has plans to reach out to UNBS during the 2016 and future planned Federation/ACTogether-led enumerations. This is so because all parties agree that enumerations should form the basis for decision making and investments in the slums of Kampala. Thus, the state has used its influence to control and regulate certain co-production activities via withholding official recognition of some community processes and products. For example, interviews with officials at KCCA and MLHUD revealed that they make use of the enumeration reports, but in informal ways. These officials have demanded that in order for enumeration reports to be official, the Federation and ACTogether need to involve the Uganda National Bureau of Statistics in the process.

KCCA (formerly KCC) has exerted power in another way in relation to some of the community problems. Realising that community engagements in Mbuya would be conflictive and hard to deal with by its Departments, KCCA’s technical staff opted to stay out of the initial engagements concerning land related negotiations. KCCA requested the Federation to lead the negotiations with the communities for release of land for housing and market redevelopment projects. This is a clever way of exercising power, of passing thorny issues on to the NGO to sort out, and allowing the community to argue and debate on how best to deal with complex

community dynamics that affect community development. In this way, the community was required to assume the responsibility for finding land without any clear means of compensation for those community members whose land would be expropriated to pave the way for project implementation (Interview, Mr Stephen Byangaba, Chairman, LC 1, Kinawataka area 10/05/16). In principle, KCCA has simply pressured the community to solve its own problems on issues of land before interventions can begin. During fieldwork, it was established that the market and housing redevelopment project was delayed because there was nobody taking the responsibility to compensate the land owners. Many respondents indicated that there is increasing need to raise funds to compensate the landowners so that project implementation can start. However, KCCA attributes the delays to challenges in securing community support for projects. This way of exerting power on ACTogether indirectly forces the Federation and ACTogether to waive their practice of non-compensation for any community resource that is to be developed for community use. As of 2015, ACTogether and the Federation were contemplating securing additional funds to compensate the landowners so that they could relocate to another place to pave the way for construction works. The next sub-section analyses more successful state responses to co-production engagements in the City.

Furthermore, as indicated in chapter 4, the state exerted power on to the communities by holding on to existing planning laws and land use regulations. Mostly inherited from colonial planning legislation, the current planning systems continue to shape state-society relations and land use in Kampala parallel to co-production. KCCA has continued to rely on the inherited colonial planning systems and laws for demolitions and evictions across Kampala. Thus, the state seemed entangled between ‘old’ and ‘new’ ways of undertaking planning and urban management. The practices of the state (especially KCCA) seemed contradictory (intra) and this was a defining element of co-production. Thus, to sustain co-production engagements, ACTogether and the Federation had to maintain strong communications and interpersonal links with selected individuals and departments within the Ministry and KCCA.

6.2 How have elements or groupings of communities and the NGOs engaged with each other?

This section of the chapter will analyse how poor households and communities in the context of Kampala functioned in the process of co-production. At certain times they were able to act collectively to take forward projects that would benefit them, but at other times differing and conflicting interests, as well as corruption, prevented them from working together or with the NGOs. This section will also show that some of these divisions were sometimes initiated from

outside the communities by political factions attempting to gain power and votes. Community members were willing to use a range of tactics and strategies to improve their living and working conditions and at times this involved collaboration but at other times there was resistance and conflict. The next paragraphs summarize the theoretical arguments which underpin the interpretation of materials on community organisation and relations during co-production.

Robins et al (2008) argue that cities and urban governance in the South must be understood within the framework of citizenship and democracy, which begins from everyday experiences, particularly within social and political contexts. In an urban context of poor service delivery and difficulties to sustain livelihoods for the majority of residents, individuals and households have tended to draw on a wide range of social networks (Richards & Roberts, 1998; Powell & Laurel Smith-Doerr, 1994) to protect their spaces of opportunity (Simone, 2000; 2004). This section counters the argument that “citizenship is primarily about active participation, and that citizens are automatically willing and ready to participate” in all affairs affecting society (Robins, 2008:1078). The counter argument is based on an understanding that in many urban contexts of the South (and increasingly in the global North as well), Kampala inclusive, cities are “divided and polarised socially and segregated spatially” (Silver, 2010:345). Communities are not homogenous and are often divided by religion, ethnicity, class, and gender, giving rise to conflict and sometimes violence. Within divided cities, everyday urban governance is deeply contested, transforming mundane service delivery and land-use planning into conflict over the control of space and livelihood opportunities. Consequently, deliberative group interactions rarely have peaceful outcomes (Bollens, 1999, Lindell, 2008).

In many cities of the South, civil groups perform gap-filling functions by delivering basic services and addressing material needs for citizen. In performing such functions, civil groups often regulate access to resources, establish rules of conduct and become sites of governance in their own right (Roy, 2009). Therefore, analyses of urban governance ought to consider relations within these groups as they exercise governance (Bénit-Gbaffou & Oldfield, 2011). A growing body of literature reveals problems of exclusion, representation, accountability and low levels of participation within many civil groups in African cities (Granados & Knoke, 2005). Robins et al (2008) argue that the power relationships among and within the civil groups are acknowledged and accepted as being inherently unequal but each needs the other in order to further their cause. The resultant interactions are shaped by different logics and imperatives (Watson, 2006). As such, the concept of ‘citizenship’ and ‘society’ do not denote a monolithic

entity as community rationality is not necessarily confined to 'a community' as members operate in diverse groups which overlap and collide in various ways.

NGOs and civic organisations are not immune from these conflicts and divisions. Patel and Mitlin (2010) argue that in the cities of the South, where gender relations are very unequal and men traditionally control grassroots organisations, civic movements can be divided and women's participation in development discourses is not always easy (Chant, 2013). Robins et al (2008) argue that, in the process of mediating interactions between community groups, non-governmental organisations and civic movements can seek to promote cultures of conduct that are, almost by definition, different from those existing in poor communities; they seek to introduce participatory technologies, ideals of voluntarism and, often, create new and at times insular 'communities within communities,' some of which may then become representatives of 'the community', but maybe exclusionary in its practices (Roy, 2009).

The following sub-section synthesises the findings to show how communities in Kampala experience divisions and splits, internally and in relation to their NGO partners, and this also affects the way they relate to the state at different levels and units. The sub-section shows that communities in Kampala are often divided by economic interests and gender, and this often affected community solidarity in co-production engagements. This sub-section also shows that in certain instances, communities used a range of their networks and tactics to further their interest.

6.2.1 Diversity and divides within communities in Kampala

In Kampala, the idea of homogenous and cohesive communities is challenged. The rules and methodologies applied during co-production in Kampala are shaped by efforts of survival by both individuals and groups, as well as efforts of the Partnership. This sub-section discusses divisions between competing groups induced by competing economic interests in the Nakawa division.

Community divisions in the Nakawa division reveal how a conflict of interests arose at the interface between different community groups surviving largely under conditions of informality and poverty. In Nakawa, in the Kinawataka market area, while co-production efforts were meant to improve the living and trading environment for residents and traders, some members rejected the initiative, citing a range of different reasons. The divisions have delayed the start of the market redevelopment project for many years. While the Federation and KCCA Department of Gender, Production and Marketing (DGPM) expected the urban

renewal project activities to benefit many households and traders at Kinawataka market, some landlords, and tenants with low income in the area feared the market upgrade would lead to forced removal of traders and residents and could impose costs which they could not afford.

In Nakawa, local responses to market and housing upgrade interventions have always varied: people in their everyday lives engage with both community and state systems in diverse and unpredictable ways - making use of them, rejecting them or hybridising them in a myriad ways. For example, non-Federation members in Mbuya of Nakawa division do not benefit from certain ACTogether-supported projects like loaning and exchange visits, among others. Thus, they found it hard to believe the promised benefits that would come with giving out their land (a source of rent income) for community development. Thus, many non-Federation members rejected the idea of allocating land for redeveloping the market and housing for the local traders and residents in Kinawataka area (Interview, Mr Rubega Idris, National Leader, NSDFU, 13/10/2016). These landlords (mostly men), tenants, traders (mostly women), and the Federation (mostly women) never came to a single agreement on the issues concerning compensation for land release. It was observed during the interviews that gender played a key role in the stalemates experienced in Kinawataka as land owners, (mostly men), were engaging with traders and Federation members were mostly women. Inter-group differences, influenced by economic and membership divides prevented those community members who belonged to the Federation and ACTogether to secure community support for market and housing redevelopment projects in Kinawataka. In Kinawataka, landlords and the Landlords' Committee feared that KCCA may not honour its promise to maintain them as land, store and housing owners in the area after redevelopments. On the other hand, traders, who were largely tenants, were worried about an imminent hike in rentals and service charges. Thus, despite the availability of funds, the landlords and tenants have managed to put upgrade plans on hold. This has occurred despite the urging of local and regional Federation members and leaders, who insisted that the projects should be allowed to go ahead, based on the argument that the planned interventions were meant to improve the living conditions of the public in the area. Furthermore, the LC One Chairman who is part of the ruling NRM and an eye of the state in the area seemed, as an individual, to endorse the Federation on issues of allocating land for market and housing redevelopment in Kinawataka. However, endorsement would only lead to community support if other LC One leaders, the landlord's committee and the traders agree with the proposals made by the Federation. In Kinawataka market, it is evident that the community is diverse and split on what should happen to secure the land for community

development projects. The following paragraphs discuss other divisions and splits around management of co-produced projects.

Divisions and conflicts characterised the management of both project financial proceedings and Suubi savings in the co-production processes in all case study areas. The issue of savings has caused major divisions between local Federation leadership and national Federation leadership. Many groups in Kisenyi continue to be divided on how Suubi savings should be managed. Most leaders indicated their desire to have savings managed locally, but a number of Federation members seemed unconcerned with the way the Suubi Fund was managed. Divisions between devolved Federation leadership, the NGO and the NEC continue to cause disagreement on the management of Suubi. Federation leaders in the Nakawa and Kampala Central divisions are unequivocal that the Suubi savings must be kept in local accounts and must be managed by local savers, rather than sending the savings to a national account controlled by the NEC. Furthermore, the community leaders argue that the funds realised from the Kisenyi water and sanitation project must not be kept in the national account. The argument is that it is hard to access the funds when major needs, like renovations, arise at the water and sanitation facility. However, this demand by local Federation leaders goes against the initial project agreement, which required the Federation to adhere to two key rules, (see SDI website²⁸): firstly, the local and regional Federation must ensure that members in the area continue keeping their Suubi account at national level liquid by ensuring timely and consistent contributions from group members. Secondly, the local and regional Federation leaders should use the proceeds from the facility to contribute to the Suubi funds so that other areas can benefit by means of loaning them funds to construct similar large-scale projects. The other expectation to be fulfilled by the local communities through local Federation groups is to pay back the funds that were advanced by SDI during the construction of the project. This is so because no project is given for free, but is, rather, a loan. The national Federation's leaders have used these agreements to compel the local Federation structures in Kisenyi and Kawempe to ensure that community residents continue to save with Suubi. Again, this lays bare the fact that communities are not homogeneous, and that the difference are so deep that not even the Federation can manage to bridge them.

The national Federation and ACTogether are categorical that no Federation group in all the communities of Kampala will be supported if they cannot support Federation practices,

²⁸ <http://ACTogetherug.org/index.php/features/savings.1/12/16>

including saving for the Uganda Urban Poor Fund - the Suubi. This means that those leaders at local and regional levels who are also part of the national leadership are split on what to support regarding management of both Suubi savings and on how to deal with the funds realised from the projects. Co-production processes and relations in Kampala (management of savings and projects in Kisenyi and the Kawempe division) also experience contestation on this issue between Federation members and the NGO. It is worth noting that the NEC rules are agreed to and endorsed by ACTogether. Thus, any rejection of the NEC rules means challenging the NGO as well. The differences have continued to affect the growth of the Federation and constitute a key issue defining the NGO/Federation–community relations. The following paragraphs discuss how vote banking and clientelism induced divisions in communities.

Some community groups have used both vote banking and clientelism to secure their interests in all the cases. In some cases like Nakawa, community groups (based on sectoral interests) failed to adopt a uniform position on the approach and strategy to secure land for market and housing upgrading. The Federation has membership drawn from all sectors of society, including political parties. Many LC One leaders are members of the NRM, which has been focusing on regaining the support of the people in informal settlements of Kampala. The NRM has offices in all the areas where the Federation operates. Many leaders of the Federation are also members of the ruling party. Also to be found in these areas are the powerful landlords who network through the Landlord's Committee. The third category constitutes the traders who, in this case are, by and large, women. These groups form strategic vote-banks for the ruling party. For example, this researcher observed that the market project in Kinawataka has not been started because powerful and networked groups have continued to resist the conditions for releasing land for the project. The chairman of the landlords' committee is also the chairman for security in the Mbuya area. The powerful members of NRM in Mbuya have direct contacts with key and influential NRM leadership at city and national levels. The Landlords' Committee and the LC One chair are well protected by the political elites in terms of safeguarding their interests, especially in land matters. In turn, members of these politically inclined groups and individuals were seen by the researcher to be campaigning for the ruling NRM party in the 2016 elections. This made Kinawataka and Mbuya even more politically sensitive and polarised. Other groupings, such as some members of the Federation and members of the opposition parties, seemed disconnected and disinterested in political engagements between the NRM and some segments of society in Mbuya. The inter-group divides and splits made it

very difficult for KCCA officials to engage, hence they used the Federation as fronts in negotiating complex land matters. In Kinawataka, KCCA officials could not evict the traders and residents because senior politicians including Ministers and the President were aware of what was happening in the area.

Divisions have also been caused by corruption and mismanagement of group savings at community level in all the cases studied. Savings groups suffered from abuse of funds, elite capture and subsequent dissolution - a form of low level community corruption. Key leaders, who include the chairperson, the treasurer and the secretary community of some groups have been conniving to use the funds for personal gain. This led to frustrations among communities and to group dissolution in the Kawempe division. The Ram Computers group in Kampala Central division suffered similar setbacks but managed to survive dissolution after the group implemented measures to recover the funds for the savers. Those savings groups which suffered theft of funds have faced challenges paying back the loans to ACTogether. Defaulting has meant that ACTogether would no longer be in a position to continue supporting the groups in terms of capacity building and project financing. However, the role of women has been found to be critical in rebuilding the community savings groups and curbing theft of the savings in all the cases studied, particularly in the Kawempe and Nakawa divisions.

Abuse of funds, corruption and mismanagement of many savings groups hampered the growth of the Federation and diminished its role in co-production processes and activities. It was established that the chief interest of some Federation leaders has been to enrich themselves at the expense of group members and the wider communities. Some members of the savings groups who have lost their funds through theft and corruption have ended up losing faith in the Federation and the possibility of using the movement to promote community interests. Thus, divisions have emerged between some community leaders and ordinary Federation members at local community levels. It seems the abuse of funds among Federation members is fuelled by the views held by some Federation members, (Interview, Edward, Chairperson, Kampala Central- NSDFU, 15/10/15), that funding has not been made available to improve housing for people in slums. People have been waiting for the actualisation of the promise ('transform' Kisenyi in three years) made in 2002. After waiting in vain for so long for this promise to be fulfilled, some are giving up. The issue of crooked leadership at local levels has continued to affect the credentials of the national Federation leadership, the savings at community levels and group mobilisation programmes in all three cases. However, where savings have been properly and transparently managed, they have served as an important ritual for consolidating

community power and energy for co-production. On the other hand, the Federation members see disorganised savings as presenting an opportunity for self-reorganisation to constitute traceable groups that can access livelihood and community development funds from both ACTogether and KCCA. The following sub-section discusses the different ways communities are able to act in cohesion and exert their influence to secure gains for themselves through co-production.

6.2.2 Community collaboration in co-production processes

Community residents in the informal settlements of Kampala, with the help of the NGOs, have mobilised and organised positively to engage with state agencies in dealing with community development issues at local and city scales. These co-production engagements focus on the issues of informality, unplanned settlements, livelihoods, squatting and evictions. The research establishes that in all the cases, co-production has relied on enumerations, savings and exchange visits to consolidate community power through community-based networks which in turn engage with the state in providing municipal services and settlement recognition.

In the early days of Federation work levels of community involvement were high as people contributed their labour and participated actively in daily savings in Kisenyi. There was consolidated community support during the initiation phase of co-production in both Kalimali and Mbuya. Interview data shows that in all the areas where there was more community support, tangible projects were easily implemented and these areas became examples of how community-led interventions could transform communities in Kampala. It could be argued that community solidarity in the early days was high, due to the expectations of communities. The early days created a strong impression regarding the potential of co-production as a means to transform the slums of the City. For example, early co-production engagements in Kisenyi, in 2002, broke new ground when the opposition controlled KCC worked together with the ruling party controlled Ministry to work with communities. The partners in Kisenyi secured land and finances and produced physical infrastructure for the residents of the area. The euphoria around service delivery was driven by the statements made by the SDI President and the Minister during the launch of the Federation in 2002 (see chapter 5). Narratives by research participants from the Federation and ACTogether clearly recall how the SDI President promised to transform communities in three years and how the Minister ordered city development to adopt the SDI methodologies and approaches. However, the community expectations faded in time, as state agencies and new methodologies could not deliver housing for all those who needed it.

The following paragraphs analyse the strategies which communities used to exert their influence on the development projects in all the cases.

Firstly, before any physical co-production initiative was launched, the communities led the processes by carrying out enumerations in the informal settlements. The enumerations were consolidated in the form of a report of all community issues and provided proposals for possible interventions and a list of potential players. These enumeration reports created some kind of community agreement on development issues, hence creating solidity from below. The reports created a sense of power, responsibility and ownership of the destiny of their communities. This allowed both communities and state agencies to achieve some congruency on what needed to be done to transform communities. People no longer sat to wait for government to deliver, but reached out to the state and other stakeholders to co-create change in the slums of Kampala. The enumeration reports consolidated community knowledge, allowed community residents to speak with evidence to the KCC/KCCA and Ministry and proved the case that slum residents are a force to be reckoned with in Kampala. Enumerations have been a central part of SDI rituals internationally and are based on the assumption that 'knowledge is power'. They exercise this power by adopting the language of technical planners who use quantitative information (standards) and formal planning concepts (quality of urban space) to discuss upgrade. As such, enumerations have been a strategic tool that brings community members and the NGO staff together and shifts the focus from evictions to upgrading in dealing with slums.

The Suubi and daily savings form another mechanism used by communities (an accepted SDI ritual) to encourage community cohesion and mobilisation. Savings form the backbone of all co-production engagements in Kampala. The idea of daily savings was initiated by the Federation in 2002 in Kisenyi area, then in the Kawempe division in 2005 and the Nakawa division in 2009. Suubi savings were first started in 2010. In all the areas studied, savings formed the most important organising ritual. It made community residents come together, raise funds and debate community development. The savings made communities become a traceable force that could be engaged in matters of community development. For example, the leadership of the Federation at all levels is built from the community-based registered savings, with formal registration and a fixed address and with a regular meeting place. Savings have been traceable entities that have been providing strategic community leadership, which in turn facilitates state-society and intra-community relations at all levels.

At community level, residents save with saving groups and a devolved network of households is established. In Kawempe, savings groups raised the funds and met the criteria for ACTogether to fund the projects through a loan. Through the work of saving groups at Kalimali and the regional leadership in Kawempe, landlords were engaged to secure land for the water and sanitation facility. Savings served as an empowering tool for poor households and community networks. With money and knowledge, came a stronger voice from the slums and increased capacity to speak to power. As such, savings have been used to tap larger financial resources from both state and international financiers. KCC/ KCCA has matched the resources from communities in implementing all communal water and sanitation projects in Nakawa and Kawempe. Thus, savings have built active communities and created opportunities for increased access to financial and land resources for community development. Savings have created motivation for enhanced participation of communities and KCCA in co-production engagements in the City. The Federation has been growing in both geographical spread and financial stature.

The other instrument for creating cohesion and collaboration between community members and the NGO has involved exchange visits. Communities have used exchanged visits to promote knowledge and information exchange between different local Federation groups and international SDI alliances located in many countries of the global South. Co-production engagements in Kampala were initiated by an SDI visit led by the SDI global President. Many initial exchange visits were between Kampala and Kenya. Then, the exchanges were expanded to benefit from the experiences of Tanzania, South Africa, India, Zimbabwe and Zambia. The most remarkable impact of exchange visits has involved exposure of Federation members and technical staff from KCCA, ACTogether and the Ministry to alternative building materials used in Kenya and Tanzania in a process which could be called ‘experiential learning’. After the exposure, the Federation became more competent in the production of alternative construction materials, used Forums to present a unified position on community development to the state and the private sector. Exchange visits helped KCCA to realise that Federation and ACTogether practices were not unique but, rather, an emerging ‘global practice’ in settlement intervention. Thus, exchange visits persuaded KCCA to relax the authority’s regulations and standards to accommodate use of materials and standards that are reliable but fall outside of the conventional requirements. After the return from India, mobilisation for the TSUPU project became much more consolidated as ACTogether and the Federation increased their capabilities to guide co-production engagements and initiatives in both the TSUPU and USMID projects.

Therefore, exchange programmes have promoted focused and targeted trans-local, trans-national and cross-institutional learning which resulted in community initiatives such as Municipal Development Forums being more supported by the Partnership. It suggests that sometimes the rigidity of the state is not simply punitive but can also be due to a lack of knowledge by officials and a lack of confidence to take approaches which fall outside of tried and tested rules and regulations.

Communities have equally used solidarity to ensure effective community mobilisation to secure their livelihoods and living spaces. Evidence of community solidarity is firstly seen when all members of the Partnership engaged in public community cleaning initiatives. Public cleaning involved activities to remove solid waste in all the slums of Kampala where the Federation exists. Public cleanings were initiated by KCC but were later discontinued before being reinvigorated by ACTogether after 2010. The mass cleaning activities are meant to improve public health standards in informal settlements, improve living conditions for the traders and residents and create a sense that community members can achieve something together. The activities are organised by devolved Federation structures in respective communities and receive support from KCCA division councils in liaison with LC One officials. Communities are mobilised by the Federation and people turn up for the activity in large numbers. On the other hand, KCCA through regional political and technocratic leadership, participates actively in all the public cleanings. The public cleanings are implemented once every month and are jointly funded by KCCA and the Federation/ACTogether. The Federation leaders in Nakawa's Banda community are proud of the achievements that have been recorded by the Partnership in the area in community cleaning programmes. These public cleanings are seen by communities and community leaders as one of the best examples of how community solidarity can achieve real gains in the slums. The next subsection discusses the special role of women in promoting collaborative co-production engagements and strategies in the City.

6.2.3 The special role of women in community mobilisation in Kampala

The success of all co-production initiatives in Kampala needed the participation of vibrant and dedicated communities. This means that community mobilisation and organisation is a key aspect of all co-production engagements in Kampala. Research showed that women constituted a key and strategic constituent that anchored community support in most engagements. Women constituted the majority of membership of the Federation and provided their skills and time to mobilise and organise communities for co-production. At national level, the Federation is

sustained by women, who are often more committed to the Federation's rituals and practices than men.

However, it is important to note that men desire leadership positions in order for them to secure control over Federation and co-production activities such as savings and exchange visits. I suggest that just as they control land as a factor of production (Nakawa division sub-case) and instrument of domination and leadership, men seem to want to extend their 'desire to own' and control important tools of co-production in Kampala. However, records of abuse have resulted in women (majority members) resisting when men want to 'take over' the Federation. Within Kawempe, Nakawa and Kampala Central divisions, it is established that saving groups that are led by women are doing better and have less incidences of defaulting. For example, Chisachamukama, Chanja, Zibula Tunde, Chamala, Ram Computers and Mbuya saving groups were all led by men who later on abused the funds. On the other hand, women in Kawempe and Nakawa believe that it is their responsibility to safeguard the interests of the movement. All female interview participants indicated that they suffer the bluntest impacts of urban poverty in Kampala (they have to raise funds for food, education, health, suffer the most from lack of water, toilets and littered solid waste- they spend most of their time at home compared to men). Thus, women believe in the long-term prospects of being members of the Federation in terms of securing gains at community and household levels. Accordingly, their commitment is high and very different from that of men. On the other hand, men seemed to be interested in short term benefits that accrue to them because of their membership to the Federation.

Furthermore, in Kawempe, members of the Youth Action for Development Group revealed in interviews that, mostly, men do not like to actively participate in what is referred to as 'women's work'. Most men feel ashamed about saving small amounts of money and may want to preserve their assumed and perceived high social standing in society by staying away from the Federation's activities at community level. It was observed that in many communities, men who remain active in the Federation for a long time occupy leadership positions. In other cases, for some men who are extraordinary in their groups, it is usually because their wives are members of the Federation and serve as a motivating factor in paying back loans. In Nakawa, women-led savings groups have been growing and group cohesiveness has been stronger. Thus, women have been strategic anchors of all co-production engagements in the three cases.

Interview insights indicate that the success of co-production depends on whether participants (men and women in communities) are sensitised enough to see their interests being met.

Planners cannot assume that people will always do things for the ‘public good’ or in the broader interests of society – they will support and work for things which they see as benefitting them directly. This is not only a feature of the global south and is no doubt true in many places. The next sub-section analyses the relations between the NGO and Federation during co-production.

6.2.4 NGO-Federation (community) conflicts

As the NGO, ACTogether is the technical arm of the Federation. The Federation is a community-based membership movement seeking to implement projects to improve living conditions in informal settlements. However, there exists some kind of ambiguity in the relationship between the Federation and the NGO. The ambiguities are induced by overlapping mandates between communities and the NGO. It is observed that in Kampala, the NGO tries to direct community (Federation) actions in a number of ways. However, NGO attempts to control action by communities have also been resisted.

The relationship between the various community organisations (which come together in the Federation) and ACTogether is intended to be a close one. The success of co-production depends on how well the Federation and ACTogether work together to sensitize the local population on the importance and relevance of SDI tools. Thus, the Federation is a mass movement that is usually the lead implementer of programmes while ACTogether provides technical support to the Federation. While both have a common objective to improve living conditions for people in slums through effective and productive partnerships between the state and communities, the two have clear areas of difference which can induce conflicts. Firstly, the overlap of mandates between the NGO and the Federation is a source of conflict. Initially, from 2000-2006, the Federation leaders were individuals with power and influence who had direct control of project resources and activities. When ACTogether was established, it became mandatory that international SDI rules (rules mostly learned and exported from the first co-production initiatives in India) governing NGO- Federation relations must come into force. The rules were ‘imposed’ on a different community set up, where livelihood and leadership opportunities are scarce and where corruption and patronage characterise communities and the state. Thus, the Federation leaders first feared that the mandate of community leaders as official representatives of the global movement (SDI with its headquarters in Cape Town) in Kampala at the time was going to be overtaken by leaders of the new local NGO - ACTogether. It appeared the NGO was going to restrict the benefits that accrue to the Federation leadership and this did not settle well with some members of communities. Secondly, the coming on board of the NGO meant that community control of resources during co-production was going to be

reduced as a professional NGO would be in charge. These instances created rifts between the NGO and the communities. The second instance of conflict involves the contested decision-making between the Federation and the NGO. The Federation understands and believes that all decisions about communities must be made jointly between the Federation and the NGO. Based on this rationale, communities and Federation NEC leaders resisted the domination tactics of the NGO in 2013 by ‘shouting and protesting’ against the sixth Executive Director of ACTogether (Sara Ibanda) and who had to resign despite enjoying a lot of support from the Ministry.

The advent of ACTogether in 2006 created opportunities for building systems and enhancing community networks that worked with the state at all levels. Some NGO representatives recounted that when ACTogether was trying to put in place systems for promoting accountability, transparency and sustainability, the Federation leaders reacted negatively and demanded that they should be able to retain their decision-making space. In Kisenyi, conflicts have continued until now, as the Federation has continued to object to the NGO involvement in the management of the first ever communal co-produced water and sanitation facility in Kampala. The Kampala case reveals that divisions within networked movements have compromised the potential capability of the Federation and the NGO to fully represent the interest of the people in informal settlements. The NGO has sought to use tactics to exert their control that includes funding conditionalities, and attempts at making decisions for the communities. This does not imply that such an exercise of power is always negative (given the Foucauldian concept of power) but under certain circumstances it could be.

The relationship between the NGO and the Federation in Kampala indicates the existence of contested relations. The NGO has its own rules to guide its engagement with civil society. On the other hand, the Federation has a combination of both its own rules (certain of which are established by SDI) and those provided by ACTogether that guided its governance infrastructure and relations with both the NGO and the state. For example, community groups can only access loans and grants from ACTogether and KCCA for livelihood projects if they are active Suubi savers. Further, ACTogether is expected to keep a distance from communities by ensuring that their professional roles end at guiding community residents during project design and implementation. As such, NGO/community relations are institutionalised by conditionalities that insist upon ensuring active community participatory frameworks for service delivery and urban reform. These conditionalities exist in the communities which are marked by deep socio-economic inequality, displacements, and entrenched segregations that

characterise Kampala. Members of society are not recruited into the Federation and NGO unless they subscribe to the rules of the Federation and those of the overall Partnership.

6.2.5 NGO-Federation (Community) collaboration

Where ACTogether and the Federation have collaborated, they have been able to achieve successes. The first strategy involved capacity building to train community residents to participate effectively in the activities of the NGO and the Federation. The NGO builds capacity in the application of all SDI rituals and practices. Before enumerations are carried out by communities, the NGO trains respective community residents on how to design and implement the community surveys. People in the slums have been trained in designing of questionnaires, data collection, report writing and dissemination of the findings. Initially, SDI and other mature SDI alliances such as the Kenyan alliance assisted Kampala communities to implement all enumeration activities between 2002 and late 2006. From 2007, all enumeration activities in all the cases were preceded by training and orientation of communities by the NGO on how to implement community enumerations. In this way, the NGO extends its influence on the ground as communities implement the ideals of the NGO and SDI.

To ensure compliance with the SDI international enumeration standards, the NGO assigns a technical department with staff specialising in mapping and enumerations. The technical staff from ACTogether ensure that enumerations are done according to prescribed SDI standards while responding to contextual conditions and also to the demands of partners. The second strategy of the NGO involves training community residents and leaders on how to speak to state officials at all levels. Many times, the NGO sets appointments with state officials especially mayors and town clerks on behalf of communities. The community residents engage the officials to push for community interests like securing equipment for public cleaning. This is based on the NGO belief that when government speaks on community development issues, it should speak directly to the residents and not through the NGO. Community leaders have been interacting with influential officials in the Department of Gender, Production and Marketing at KCCA, divisional KCCA mayors, technical staff at the Ministry's Department of Urban Development and the office of the Commissioner for Urban Development. In a way, one would argue that the NGO sets the agenda for communities to discuss with the state.

The other strategy of NGO-Community collaborative engagements involves administering of project and livelihood loans to community residents. The NGO gives loans for communal projects, group based livelihood projects and for household water and sanitation, and housing improvements. To qualify for a loan for communal projects, communities in Kisenyi, Mbuya

and Kalimali were required to form saving groups, commit that they will pay back the project loan and that they would contribute 20% of the project costs. These requirements imply that communities have to federate and have active accounts for Suubi and daily savings. In this way, the communities are mandated to practice the SDI rituals in order to have access to funds for various projects. It was established that in all the saving groups studied, community residents who actively saved for Suubi and daily accounts had managed to get loans from ACTogether and grants from KCCA. Further, communities are compelled to continue abiding by the financing rules if the support from ACTogether should continue. In cases where defaulting is high without a contingent plan to repay the loans, as was the case for the three defunct saving groups in Kawempe, then ACTogether ceases to support the groups and its members, and the community's role in co-production diminishes.

The following section provides a nuanced analysis of materials on state responses to co-production initiatives in Kampala.

6.3 How have levels (national and local) and departments within the state in Uganda and Kampala related to each other?

This section has two main sub-sections. The first sub-section discusses the state as a divided and conflicted entity. In the second sub-section the researcher discusses times when elements of the state were aligned with the interests of co-production and the kinds of outcomes which this brought about. The section makes the argument that the concept of the state is a multi-layered and divided entity that is shaped by conflicts and contradictions, especially in global South contexts. The following theoretical concepts (drawn from chapter 2) will be used to guide interpretation of the findings on functioning of the state in Kampala.

The state is not a homogenous entity. It is conceptualised as a dynamic ensemble of relations and syntheses that at the same time produces the institutional structure and knowledge of the state. Lindell (2008:1879) reflecting on market governance in Maputo, Mozambique, establishes that “there are multiple sites and layers” where the state in Africa practices a broad and often contradictory range of practices of governance. Issa and David (2012:141) argue that theorising the state in the South should involve analyses of the relationship between state agencies and political parties, as well as “clientelism and corruption, intra-state contradictions, frequent policy reversals, and the existence of weak state institutions.” Hence the actions of the state are fragmented between both formal and informal processes (Roy, 2009).

Divisions also exist between central and local levels of the state. In many parts of the global South the state remains highly centralised with actual decentralisation, local democratisation and shared governance having been uneven or conflicted processes (Watson, 2009b; 2006). Limited capacity, resources and data at the local level have further hindered decentralisation process and the implementation of cooperative governance. Generally, traditional urban planning and management systems have encountered challenges because they have relied on assumptions (Devas, 2001) of the existence of stable, coherent, effective and government at both national and local level, as well as a strong civil society (Watson, 2009). Yet inherited colonial planning systems, which are highly centralised and top-down, continue unchanged.

This thesis argues that theory must engage with policy made on a field of power struggles between different state agencies and interests, where knowledge and truth are contested, and the rationality of planning is exposed as a focus of conflict. This is what Flyvbjerg has called *realrationalität*, or “real-life rationality” (Flyvbjerg, 1996:383), where the focus shifts from what should be done to what is actually done. Whilst Foucault saw discourse as a medium which “transmits and produces power, he points out that it is also a hindrance, a stumbling-block, a point of resistance and a starting point for an opposing strategy” (Foucault, 1990:101). Understandings of planning as a spatial practice that is related to the state and the production of space, should acknowledge power relationships that are shaped by national and local histories and cultures (Huxley, 2000).

The next sub-section interprets findings about the nature of the state in Kampala in particular, and Uganda in general.

6.3.1 The state as a multilayer and conflicted entity

The state, through the MLHUD, made the first contacts with the SDI international leadership and invited them to help with community mobilisation. At a time when opposition political parties were in charge of Kampala, and the national government wanted to gain control of urban areas, it seems the major motive for reaching out to SDI was meant to help the national government re-connect with the residents of the City, conceivably for political reasons. In line with this motive to re-connect with voters in the City, the President of Uganda pushed for the formation of KCCA through an Act of Parliament (KCCA Act of 2010). From 2010 onwards, KCCA has been a powerful anchor of all state interventions in the City and has on behalf of the state pushed for a collaborative model of intervention in the slums. KCCA has the mandate to regulate all development in Kampala and to provide services to all the residents of the City.

The state was characterised by collaborative and contradictory acts during co-production. Findings indicate that in Uganda, as elsewhere, the state is not a homogenous entity and it is necessary to understand differences and contradictions between and within departments within the national state as well as between levels of government. The Ministry was the first state entity to take the initiative to engage with SDI in 2002. The Ministry had a political agenda, as the NRM was keen to regain the 'control' of Kampala. The Department for Urban Development set up in this Ministry also supported work with the Federation and NGO, but interviews with the Senior Sociologist (see section 5) established that the official position held by this Department did not resonate with positions held by other departments and agencies within the Ministry that participate in co-production activities for Kampala. For instance, the Lands Registry Department has in certain cases opted not to work within the established co-production Partnership when dealing with issues of title deeds. The officials from this Department have always issued title deeds to private individuals on developed land with competing claims. This has led to evictions and displacements and goes against interests of many partners like the Directorate of Planning at KCCA, the Federation and LC One Leaders resident in the communities. The Lands Registry Department contradicts the Department of Urban Development within the Ministry because it is not expressly bound by co-production agreements and the provisions of the 2013 MoU between the Federation/ACTogether, KCCA and the Ministry. Furthermore, the Lands Registry is empowered and required by law to issue title deeds if applicants produce proof of ownership. It should be stated here that many slums are established on land that 'legally' belongs to private individuals and institutions especially the churches. Thus, the 'old' legal owners still claim legitimacy and can still sell or obtain title papers. The competing mandates, different experiences with informality and the SDI gave rise to competing accounts about the importance of SDI work in Kampala. Most of the interviews from KCCA, especially, the Director of Gender, Marketing and Production, indicated that ACTogether and the Federation do not anchor community interventions. This is contrary to the accounts by officials from the Ministry who argue that without the Partnership, community interventions would have been hard to achieve. Similar competing accounts were observed during the interviews with Federation members. However, to achieve validity, data collection processes and activities were triangulated.

Further, while the relationship between KCC and the Ministry was not hostile, the Ministry faced challenges in dealing with KCCA at the municipal level. KCC had the mandate to manage Kampala and the national government had no legal basis for over controlling it. KCCA was

established in 2010 by KCCA Act of Parliament as a major move towards recentralisation and was given a sweeping mandate as a service provider and regulator for all development activities in Kampala. Thus, while KCCA is expected to operate within the national policy framework, there is no legal requirement for KCCA to be accountable to the national Ministry departments. This has created an observable degree of division and frustration among some Ministry officials who feel KCCA oversteps its mandate and over reacts in dealing with some complex land use related issues. There is little consultation from KCCA to the Ministry when dealing with urban development and governance issues in Kampala. While the 2007 Slum Up-grading Strategy is closely aligned with the SDI approaches, there is no national policy that clearly stipulates the relations between the Federation and the state at various levels. At the heart of the contradictions are the existence of contradictory legal instruments. On the one hand, KCCA Act is pro-service delivery and is well funded. On the other, the operations of the Ministry (poorly funded) are rooted in the Decentralisation Act, Lands Act and the successive planning legislations and systems imbedded in the colonial planning laws (see chapter 4).

KCCA has two arms: the first and older system is now a weak, subdued and uninfluential political arm which is controlled by the opposition party and headed by the Executive Mayor, while the second and new arm is the all-powerful and well-resourced technical arm headed by the Executive Director of KCCA and which falls under the Presidency. KCCA technical arm runs the City and is overwhelmingly powerful. On the other hand, the City's Executive Mayor and the councillors (political arm) do not have meaningful influence on the decisions of KCCA and the City. Both the political and the technical arm of KCCA do support co-production, but the influence of the political arm is subdued and diminished. The Ministry's role in Kampala is diminished because, as the research observed, KCCA technocrats are prepared to operate outside the law in order to deliver services to the City residents everywhere, especially in informal settlements.

For all the development programmes and initiatives targeting the City of Kampala, the Ministry is invited as a mere stakeholder or partner and not as a regulator or funder of the programmes. For example, while the Ministry criticises the dominant role of the Federation in organising and implementing the Forums, KCCA is very happy to exploit the opportunities being presented by deliberations during the Forums. KCCA has gone further to request all its structures across the Kampala to closely collaborate with the Federation and ACTogether. In addition, while the Ministry opposes the way management and organisation of savings is done by the Federation and ACTogether, KCCA has no problem with this and continues to use the

savings to leverage its funds for community development. In fact, some members of KCCA devolved structures, such as the LC One leaders in Nakawa and Kawempe, are members of various saving groups. As such, while the Ministry continues to be a key member of some co-production engagements, their role is not as strategic as that of KCCA in the implementation of various projects in Kampala. Further, the Ministry has no direct role in implementing or observing the implementation of its national policies in Kampala. The contact office at KCCA for the Federation is the Directorate of Gender, Production and Marketing. The Ministry seems to have different priorities from those set by KCCA. Thus, there exists low level but subdued conflict between KCCA and MLHUD, thereby affecting trust levels between the two institutions which ultimately affects intra-state as well as state-society relations during co-production.

KCCA agency is part of the Presidency establishment and its powers. The Director General of KCCA is appointed directly by the President and the institution is accountable to the office of the Prime Minister and the Presidency. The agency has both financial and legal freedom as it is directly funded by the National Treasury to implement all national government development programmes meant for Kampala. The agency is very politically and strategically aligned as the Presidency expects it to deliver for people in informal settlements, potentially to win political support for the ruling party. Anchoring the Partnership on the side of the state in Kampala, KCCA has financial, legal and facilitative roles in co-production. The institution has a mandate to directly engage with the residents of informal settlements to promote livelihoods and municipal services.

However, KCCA is accused of having too much power to allow for smooth inter-institutional engagements and cooperative governance. For example, KCCA technical arm has continued implementing evictions against the Partnership agreements and against the wishes of many officials in the Department of Urban Development at the Ministry. Evictions are implemented by KCCA technical arm when residents occupy KCCA land that is planned for other projects or sites that endanger human life. Other cases leading to evictions are those where the private sector persuades the Authority to clear encroachments on private sector owned land. It should be noted that in informal settlements where no contestation or eminent danger exists, KCCA rarely evicts residents or communities. Although the Ministry is the custodian of all urban policies, KCCA is mandated by KCCA Act to operate 'independently' of national policies and laws enforceable by the Ministry. Respondents observed that KCCA implements projects and programme in line with the Presidency and is not directly accountable to any Ministry. This

creates a confusing mix of policies on how Kampala should develop. While the Partnership has been running, KCCA has implemented evictions in Nakawa, Kinawataka and in Kisenyi areas among many other areas. But at the same time, KCCA has been implementing livelihood projects and urban market redevelopment in the slums in all the cases. This is because the Directorate of Gender, Production and Marketing at KCCA contradicts the positions of the Directorate of Physical Planning at KCCA and the Ministry. This inter and intra-institution contradiction is fuelled by the fact that while the Directorate of Gender, Production and Marketing focuses on tangible issues of promoting production in the slums, the Directorate of Planning is largely pre-occupied with issues of plan formulation. The fact that KCCA seems to have a strong political backing from the Presidency to deliver services, funding and emphasis in KCCA seems to revolve around the Gender, Production and Marketing Department.

It is expected by the Ministry and the physical planning professionals at KCCA that planning must come first, before projects are implemented (they have also called for the formulation of settlement-based physical plans). However, the Directorate of Gender, Production and Marketing believes livelihoods and upgrade projects must come first before formulating community-based layout and development plans as required by national physical planning legislation. This is another case in point which shows the extent of contradictions within KCCA and between KCCA and the Department of Urban Development in the Ministry. The Directorate of Gender, Production and Marketing seems determined to contravene the provisions in the Urban and Regional Planning Act as well as the Local Government Act in pursuit of their mandate as enshrined in KCCA Act. Based on these contradictions, and power and mandate-induced conflicts, many players hesitate to engage KCCA and its Directorates to resolve the contradictions and conflicts. Clearly, KCCA and Ministry activities in Kampala are contradictory, conflicted and unintegrated. However, ACTogether and the Federation attempt to play the role of mediators to try to ensure continued co-production engagements.

The other critical state agency that engages with other partners in the co-production processes in Kampala is the Local Council (LC) structures. In Kampala, as discussed in chapter 4- (Policy context), LC structures are administrative unit councils which are found at urban village, community and county levels. In Kisenyi, LC One played a key role to bridge the relations between the local community and the state at different levels. There is recognition of the fact that the state embodies different capacities at different levels and in different structures. KCCA officials seemed to fear to directly engage divided communities over land issues, hence the LC One was a good entry point by the Federation and NGO to mediate engagements and handle

conflicts. The LC One managed to start the land negotiation processes at community by engaging with traders first. In Nakawa at Mbuya and Kinawataka Market, the LC One chairman is a member of many local leadership committees and is also a member of the Federation, making it possible for him to influence many stakeholders on matters of development, including land access. The chairman acts as a gatekeeper to the community of Mbuya and is well networked with senior civic and political leaders at City level. The chairman is very influential and determines what happens in all state-society engagements seeking to implement projects in the area. LC One structures are custodians of state authority at community level and they oversee land transactions, service delivery, security, public health, infrastructure development among others.

However, while the Ministry and ACTogether have been concerned about failure to hold elections to ‘appoint’ legitimate LC One Chairmen (largely members of the ruling NRM at community level, and different from KCCA elected councillors at division level), KCCA seemed to have no problem with the current community leadership in Kampala. In all the projects, the LC One chairperson sides with the communities and is more linked to the ruling party establishment. By January 2016, elections to vote for LC One Chairmen across the City had been suspended for a period of over 10 years and this compromised the legitimacy of the community leadership. However, the political establishment of the ruling party continued to maintain the use of incumbencies despite claims of illegitimacy raised by various quarters of society including ACTogether.

In Kampala, the political wing of government, especially the ruling National Resistance Movement (NRM), had very strong influence on what happened in Nakawa regarding release of development land for water and sanitation, and market and housing redevelopment projects. Many areas, including Mbuya, Kinawataka, Kalimali, and Kisenyi, are treated by political parties, especially the governing NRM as potential voting blocs. As such, politicians, which, Mr Samuel Mapala, the Former Commissioner for Urban Development at the Ministry, termed as ‘political animals’, have direct interests which usually differ from the rationales held by some professionals in different state agencies.

These local political networks are directly linked to senior politicians in government and have a very strong influence on what actually happens on matters of land, funding and project implementation. For example, it is established that the LC One Chair at Mbuya has direct links with the ministers and contacts KCCA top officials directly to make demands on behalf of the

area. In many cases, being recognised community leaders, LC One Chairmen are invited to attend area-focused meetings by the Directorate of Gender, Production and Marketing in KCCA. Such engagements create grounds for a politics of patronage guided by unwritten rules of engagement that operate outside of conventionally defined spaces of civil society and the formal legal institutions of the state. It is established that the political-community direct relations have been used by the state to maintain its own direct linkage and relevance to the community, thus, creating symbiotic informal relationships between the ruling class and the urban poor in the slums of Kampala. There is recognition by KCCA and the Federation that the political wing of the state in the area is critical to secure popular and political support for co-production engagements. Clearly, the formal state institutions are expected to work with the informal institutions and communities to secure the livelihoods of the people. In this process, the state and the ruling political regime keeps on re-consolidating its relevance to the slum residents and re-establishing its control on the communities. By the end of the day, both politicians and community residents have something positive to gain from co-production engagements in the three cases studied.

6.3.2 State alignment in the interests of co-production

The state equally exhibited clear cases of alignment during co-production. Alignment in this case implies collaborative state acts meant to support community initiatives. For example, the state is aligned in its policy that settlement upgrading must be a collaborative and community-led process. Other cases involve endorsement and support of the Forums, community public cleaning among others. State alignment occurred when activities aligned with the interest of the state agencies or for political convenience. For example, Forums benefited KCCA as they served as a platform for community management and engagement. On the other hand, Forums were part of the TSUPU project and the Ministry was the secretariat. It should be noted that alignments involved cases when some agencies of the state especially the Ministry would hold back their complaints against the actions of KCCA. For example, interviews with officials in the Lands registry at the Ministry indicated that KCCA occasionally collaborated with communities on development projects on land whose ownership is contentious - a development that the Lands Registry does not support. Despite this contradiction, the Lands Registry did not physically act or speak against the actions of KCCA. This kind of intra-state relations led to alignments in the state response to co-production engagements. Thus, alignments were a function of both common interests and 'political convenience.' Political convenience is as a result of the fact that KCCA is backed by executive powers from the Presidency, and Ministry

officials seemed disinterested in having a fallout with KCCA. Regardless of the reasons, when state agency alignment occurred, co-production would be at its best.

6.4 Conclusion

This chapter has analysed those state-society relations in Kampala which are organised within the framework of co-production. As shown in section one, co-production is a complicated state-society engagement approach involving use of both collaboration and conflicts to secure gains for community. Sometimes the state also sees gains to be made through co-production: the approach creates spaces for the state to engage with the often-divided residents in informal settlements, and can increase its political support in an area largely controlled by the political opposition. It also provides opportunities for communities to resist and reject disempowering and manipulative state policies. This chapter has shown that membership movements and networks, seeking to improve living conditions in many cities and regions of the South, have their capabilities hampered by intra-organisation divisions often caused by the need to control resources. The chapter has further shown that the state in postcolonial Africa is divided, conflicted and affected by self-pursuit of interest, and that the division between political parties and the state governance structures is blurred. Competing interpretations of the Partnership activities seemed to be based on differing and often competing mandates of individual actors, level and depth of engagement of individual actors in the partnership activities, politics of resource management, and appreciation of the co-production methodologies. Thus, the chapter concludes that it is impractical to assume that power is absent or can be put to one side when state and society interact to plan, provide services and promote good governance. The chapter provides arguments that co-production, which repositions planning as both a collaborative and conflicted process, may be a more realistic way to inform planning processes and outcomes for cities of the South. Having used the empirical materials (chapter 5) to answer the key research questions (chapter 6), the next chapter (chapter 7) will use materials in sections 5 and 6 to re-engage the theory chapter (chapter 2) and the context chapter (chapter 4) to challenge certain aspects of mainstream planning theory and advance some theoretical propositions regarding co-production as a planning paradigm for cities of South.

CHAPTER 7

THEORETICAL PROPOSITIONS

7.0 Introduction

The previous chapters have provided material that has set the basis for generating conceptual ideas in interventive planning theory. Co-production is linked to planning in that the approach is concerned with how state and society can engage to improve the quality of life of populations, sometimes with an emphasis on the poor and marginalized, and sometimes with these outcomes specified as socio-spatial justice and more equitable and sustainable outcomes of state intervention in urban development, and how professionals can act to promote this. Co-production assumes a context of democracy, where ‘active citizens’ are able to engage collectively and individually (with each other and with the state) to improve their material and political conditions. Roy (2009:168) asks if the SDI-related work of “SPARC and Hezbollah in Mumbai and Beirut be agents in/of urban redevelopment in that their engagement with land redevelopment inevitably leads to new processes of inclusion and exclusion of the poor”. The chapters have detailed the theoretical framework, methodological procedures, policy environment, findings in the form of narratives, and interpretation of the findings to answer the research questions. Therefore, the theoretical propositions presented in chapter 7 are supported by theory, by contextual analysis and by empirical materials generated by the case study. In this chapter, the researcher will follow the requirements of the case study method (Yin, 1994; 2003; 2009; Flyvbjerg, 2001; 2004; 2006; 2011; Stake; 1995; 2006) to use the case study findings to ‘speak back to theory’. He will do this by making a set of theoretical propositions concerning current theories in planning and on the approach to state-society engagement in planning termed co-production. The chapter seeks to advance planning theory ideas from the context of the urban South, and Sub-Saharan Africa in particular, where the state and citizens relate in rather different ways (formal and informal) from those obtaining in the global North, although the intention here is not to create a theoretical binary between global North and South. Overall, the theoretical propositions on co-production will deepen ‘the pot’ of planning ideas internationally so that a wider range of state-society engagement possibilities is available in differing contexts. As such, this chapter sets out the contribution to knowledge required by doctoral research and also assumed by the case study method.

The chapter is divided into two main sections. The first section provides answers to the research sub-questions, as outlined in chapter 3. In the second section, a set of theoretical propositions to answer the main, overarching, research question, is provided.

7.1 The significance of the Kampala case study - answering the research sub-questions

The Kampala case study has been used to generate information to answer both the main question and the sub-questions as outlined in chapter 3. Furthermore, the chapter ‘speaks back’ to chapter 2 to advance new theoretical grounds in planning, and this is in the form of seven propositions.

i. How have communities and the NGO called ACTogether engaged the state in Kampala on the issue of informal settlement recognition and service provision?

The case study establishes that interventions in the informal settlements of Kampala take the form of co-production. The state and organised community groups, with the NGO as a strategic actor, have used various tools and initiatives to implement programmes and activities that involve many partners, and this relationship is called co-production. This planning and development process has therefore taken on a very different form from what is usually regarded as ‘public participation’ in planning, whether this is the older and highly bureaucratic form of ‘top-down’ participation or the more recent collaborative and communicative approach.

The first tool used by the Federation and NGO has involved the use of profiling, enumerations and mapping to push the frontier of knowledge about informality and about the city systems in Kampala. Knowledge generation through comprehensive community surveys has been used to empower communities with concepts and ideas, establish grounds for partnership building and collaboration on various community development issues, and identify gaps for partnership-based interventions. In all the sub-cases, the importance of the communities learning from below using alternative methodologies, different from those typically used by the state, was very central to the co-production processes. Information and knowledge generation outcomes warped usual ‘technologies of rule’ and challenged strategies of community ‘improvement’ by the state. Through enumerations, the community adopted and started to use the ‘formal’ and ‘scientific’ language of the state which empowered them to engage with the state as a more powerful actor. As such, the enumerations by the Federation members forced the state to reform its positions on informal settlements, allowing adoption of alternative principles, materials and processes to achieve real gains for communities.

The second tool, local and international exchange visits, was used to augment the knowledge generation and learning objectives. Exchange programmes were implemented in order to enable Federation leaders and members, and state agents, to learn about co-production initiatives in other countries. The exchange programmes empowered partners with knowledge

and information on how the state and communities work in other countries. As such exchange programmes led to exercising of power by the Federation to put pressure on state officials (all levels) to unlearn old and unproductive ways of state interventions in informal settlements, and adopt alternative ways of city planning, building regulations, city management and community engagements. The second purpose of exchange programmes was to expose the Federation and ACTogether to the initiatives and programmes of other Federation movements in-country and outside Uganda so that cross-border and trans-local knowledge can enable more positive community-led initiatives and outcomes in Kampala. The exchange programmes led to signing of the MoU between KCCA and the Federation and also led to significant transformations in the governance systems of Kampala through the introduction of the Municipal Development Forums (MDFs). The MDFs have created spaces and opportunities for experiential learning among state officials and the private sector and bonding and networking among the different city players. This has led to reduced misunderstanding, appreciation of urban poverty and created some level of congruency on key settlement issues to allow for practical action.

The third tool involved the use of savings as a means of community mobilisation and fundraising for partnership interventions in the informal settlements. Having funds increased individual and collective capabilities needed for bargaining power with the state, the private sector and other stakeholders. This in the end put communities on a more level playing field with the state, and funding became a co-process between the state and communities.

As contained in the various programme, project and activity reports (see chapter 5), and as detailed on ACTogether website²⁹, co-production tools led to physical communal and household infrastructural developments in many communities of the cases studied. Narratives and data from these communities indicate that environmental, social and economic crises faced by residents of these areas have since reduced.

The research also established that co-production involves the use of both collaboration and conflictive acts. Communities adopt a range of strategies to advance their interests and reject unproductive state policies. While avoiding open and violent conflicts in order to protect women's participation and to follow the SDI principle of avoiding violence, conflicts took the form of written complaints, boycotts and verbal attacks to resist state control of the Federation and resist eviction policies. These strategies helped community residents and the Federation to protect their livelihood sources, defend their claimed rights to land, and the 'autonomy' of the

²⁹ <http://www.ACTogetherug.org/index.php/features/slum-upgrading4,12/12/16>

Federation. At other times, communities used collaboration as well as the use of their political networks to further their interests. Engagement with the state is therefore strategic, unpredictable, subject to reversals, and highly dependent on local knowledge of the socio-political context.

ii. Have elements or groupings of communities and the NGO engaged the state in different ways?

The study shows that society and ‘communities’ are not homogenous, as planners often assume to be the case. Different elements and interests in the community can exercise power in different ways, and can devise and apply various strategies to engage at the interface of state and society, with the NGOs, and even between competing community interests. These divisions shape state-society relations and the entire co-production processes. Community diversity revolved mainly around differing economic and political interests and affiliations, as well as gender. Kampala is divided along ruling party and opposition political lines. The lowest government structure, the Local Council One (LC 1) is both a development and ruling party functionary. While the members of the LC 1 are expected to champion community development activities at community level, the study establishes that this structure exhibits double loyalty and is deployed by the ruling party to gain political support. Thus, the LC 1 clearly straddles state, political party and community spaces. Other groups form around economic interest and asset ownership, with the landlords’ association being the most dominant and influential in co-production relations and activities. For example, this group had a significant role in the nature of relations and outcomes that characterised co-production in Nakawa’s Mbuya area. A trader’s interest group, comprised mostly of women, used solidarity and populism to assert their interests and resist market and housing upgrading.

Certain elements of communities used a mix of strategies to protect their interests. Community leaders, including the LC 1 leaders, used clientelism to secure personal and community favours from the state. The LC 1 leadership mirrored and represented political party interests to the community and in the process they secured favours from political parties and the state. Federation leaders, who could also be LC 1 leaders, used networking and persuasion through dialogue and meetings with state officials to advance both Federation interests and those of the communities. The land owners (landlords’ association) used their networked power to reject what they considered as unbeneficial proposals of the state on their land. On the other hand, mobilised traders and Federation groups used both rejection and acceptance acts to ensure co-production happened in Kampala according to their interests. These groups and the associated

different tactics of engaging the state shows that different community elements operate differently and exert power differently. As indicated by Robins et al (2008) and Lindell (2008), these kinds of divisions in co-production are not uncommon in the politics of civil society in global South cities. Lindell (2008:1884) indicates that these dynamics are often up-scaled to national and international level through international collective action. Co-production engagements in Kampala show that local groups organise beyond city and national borders in their struggles to change local conditions. The findings establish the existence of multi-scalar urban governance through the use of Slum Dwellers Federation (SDI) tools of co-production.

iii. How has the state in Kampala (national and local) responded to initiatives from communities and ACTogether to engage in service provision?

The state, taken to mean all state structures from national to urban village government structures and systems, responded to community and the NGO initiatives in service provision in many ways. The state was not always clear on its stance as it used its tools of governance to respond differently to the various initiatives. Firstly, the state accepted and participated in a number of initiatives. Through its local structures, the LC 1, the state participated in enumerations as a governance and planning tool. Secondly, the state accepted and endorsed the use of savings as a way of mobilising community members and mobilising resources for participatory settlement upgrading. The state used these savings to leverage state resources in community infrastructure development. Furthermore, the state created a hybrid outcome out of community and state programmes and initiatives. For example, community development funds typically involve both Federation/ACTogether and KCCA funds which are administered in very similar ways and procedures and using the same community leadership structures. KCCA and ACTogether rely on willing and mobilised groups that are endorsed by the LC I Chairmen who is usually a community-based state representative and Federation member. The state equally and typically behaved as a regulator of civil society conduct with a direct legal mandate to control other players during co-production. This resulted in rejection of some ACTogether ideas and activities. For example, while the Federation and ACTogether are unequivocally against evictions, these have continued to occur in Kampala. Thus, while the concept of co-production (and the notion of Partnership) suggests a balance of power between state and community, the state still exercises power more easily than communities. Other initiatives and ideas have been a subject of contestation and conflict between the state and communities and the NGO.

Fundamentally, analysis of empirical material on state response to community and NGO co-production initiatives in Kampala reveal that in the face of multiple players, state-centric perspectives of urban governance that focus exclusively on the workings of the formal institutions of the state are insufficient for grasping the complex webs of state power relations shaping state response to community initiatives and the interface between state and society. The state operates within and between formal and informal institutions and systems (Lindell, 2008). The study establishes that, in line with research from other contexts by Lindell (2008), Roy (2009), Yiftachel (2009), the state in Africa, and possibly elsewhere in the global South, is both a formal and informal entity. Planning itself is not a 'formal', strictly rule-bound process, but is characterized by exceptions, contradictions, ambiguity and arbitrary decision-making.

The state becomes informal when its agencies abrogate its statutes and policies to engage with 'illegal' or 'informal systems' to push agendas such as responding to enable the political parties win votes, access and control of community land transactions and to transfer responsibility for a constrained state system to communities when dealing with complex community issues. The state (KCCA) stepped aside (opportunistically, perhaps) and gave the space to community elements and leadership to resolve conflicted land issues in Kinawataka. Thus, the Kampala case clearly shows that the state engaged directly and indirectly with activities beyond the state, and this extended the conceptualisation of urban governance to include activities and networks beyond the formal state systems. The marketplace in Nakawa, and the water and sanitation facilities in the three case studies, are all informal sites where the state is weak and much governance happens beyond it. Governance, then, must be understood as "a broad range of practices that may involve various modes of power beyond the state" (Lindell, 2008:1880). The state needs community agencies and contacts to properly engage with the informal systems in the various co-production sites. State response to co-production activities in Kampala seemed to offer greater democratic space and grassroots empowerment, but this was punctuated with a series of contradictory tendencies. Thus, the functioning of the state in Southern contexts can be different from Western liberal and economically advanced regions, and the one-size-fits-all theories of urbanism and urban planning are challenged by the everyday state practices.

iv. Have different elements or departments in the state responded in different ways?

Governments in any context are not an homogenous entity, but in global South contexts they seem to experience particular kinds of fractures and divisions, often influenced by their

postcolonial history. The state in Uganda is a multi-layered and conflicted entity with no clear uniting policy thread to guide its activities with and within society. Firstly, the local government system is multi-layered and lacks clear coordination of activities and strategies for society engagements. The LC 1 is the closest community development state structure but this structure is made to perform many and often conflicting roles: NRM party functions, local government functions, KCCA community representative functions and as a platform for community leaders chairing important community functions and programmes. The LC 1 leaders are also members of the Federation. As such, the LC 1 structure receives instructions and influences from various state and non-state entities. The local government (political) of Kampala is led by the Executive Mayor (opposition party). After 2010, the central government started appointing all the technical staff of KCCA while the Executive Mayor and the city councillors have continued to be directly elected by the people of Kampala. However, the political leadership in Kampala has been subdued due to the actions of many players, such as those involving political convenience by the ruling party.

Urban governance involves various layers of relations. These different state layers of relations interact with each other in complex and conflicting ways. Multiple sites exist where state power is exercised as well as contested. At the urban village level, where LC 1 leadership is expected to represent differing state systems and agencies, contestation and shifting loyalties characterise the intra-state relations. The various state players are involved in creating, shaping and contesting localised rules of governance in the informal communities of Kampala. The political agency in urban governance includes, but is more than, ruling party clientelistic behaviours, policy directives as well as opposition to the state. The findings show that even in a context of a highly fragmented, weak and dispersed system of urban governance, the local state (LC 1) continues to play an important role in the development of communities on Kampala. This is akin to what Lindell (2008:1887) refers to as a “dispersed yet centred urban governance”. The LC 1 is very key and all other state agencies reach communities through the LC 1. Findings show that no one state agency or actor has clear practical authority to fully regulate the conduct of others.

v. How have power relations structured the relationships between communities, NGOs and the state in the process of engagement?

It is clear that the practice of power was present in all co-production engagements and processes. This study establishes that in Kampala, the dispersed arrangements of governance

means that power is not the possession of some groups or individuals, but rather, it is diffused through society and it circulates between people who do exercise it for various reasons. Power is all-encompassing, ubiquitous and pervasive, thus has no obvious locations and centres. In Kampala, the relationships of power are mediated by a variety of players and agencies. Power is dispersed among numerous interest groups and these groups tend to use various tools to balance each other, with ACTogether attempting to act as a legitimate neutral arbitrator that is accessible by different interest groups and perspectives. This scenario has made it possible for large populations living in informal settlements to be part of the governance process and systems, through informal rather than formal mechanisms.

Firstly, communities exercised power and won the support of state agencies and individuals by use of the co-production tools. Secondly, communities used various tactics to challenge manipulative practices of the state. Equally, the NGO had exercised power through the promulgation of rules on Federation management and processes, capacity building and co-financing of co-production activities. The Federation and ACTogether collaborated in many instances to jointly use their power and influence to resist state control of the Federation as well as reject the imposition of unproductive state rules on co-production activities. The state as well exercised its power through its tools of governance. These included initial rejection of alternative building materials and development financing regulations, and it used the language of 'concepts and standards' to reject some practices and activities during co-production. Co-production relations and outcomes in Kampala show that the state and communities, and their interactions, are constantly shaped by the exercise of power between and within them. The community has various elements which are divided and compete for control of 'space', and these elements exhibited conflicting interests when ideas to upgrade the market and housing came up in Kinawataka. While the state and the Federation sought to improve the living and trading environments, some elements of the community in the area objected and put forward varying arguments ranging from possible evictions, higher service charges, loss of rent income and mere distrust of state action. On the other hand, the state argued that the area needed improvement to promote and achieve gains public health, better housing and improved business for the local traders. The lowest state structure- the LC 1- sided with the protesting community while KCCA was determined to push for project implementation.

These intra-community and intra-state power matrixes determine the power interface and upgrade outcomes during co-production. The findings align with Flyvbjerg (2002) argument who says 'instead of side-stepping or seeking to remove the traces of power from planning,'

co-production accepts power as unavoidable, recognising it's all pervasive nature, and emphasising its productive as well as destructive potential. Planning as a policy field engages with policy made on a field of power struggles between different interests, where knowledge and truth are contested, and the rationality of planning is exposed as a focus of conflict. This is what Flyvbjerg has called *realrationalität*, or 'real-life' rationality (Flyvbjerg, 1996), where the focus shifts from what should be done to what is actually done. The analysis of co-production in Kampala embraces the idea that 'rationality is penetrated by power'. Understanding how power works is the first prerequisite for planning process and action, because action is the exercise of power. In the following section, this researcher will now outline and explain the theoretical propositions to answer the overarching research question. Each theoretical proposition is followed by an explanation and justification.

7.2 Theoretical propositions arising from the case study

The overall research questions is: How do co-production engagements in the City of Kampala provide empirical support for an enhanced theoretical framework in planning which contributes to ideas of state-society engagement in the cities of the global South?

Proposition 1

The state in Kampala, as is the case for other global South contexts, lacks the necessary capacity and will to steer the public in a coherent direction in order to close the gap between the needs of urban local residents and the development process.

The state in Africa faces many challenges which hinder it from performing its expected roles and functions. The state has inadequacies in many facets of urban development and management. Firstly, state capacity is limited by resource constraints to deliver services to all the urban residents. Secondly, findings establish that the state in Kampala is multi-layered with multiple governance tools and policies which sometimes contradict with each other and hinder effective implementation of development programmes. There is a clear gap between development needs and aspirations among the urban populations and the development process of many cities of the South. The policy environment is neither coherent nor inclusive. As such, formalised systems of service provision and livelihoods fail to meet the development demands of residents in the cities of the South. Given this scenario, the urban population of these cities devise their own 'adapting cultures' where organised and often informal groups devise their rules to guide relations within groups, between groups and with the state to facilitate alternative

service provision and protection of livelihood systems. These groups are not out of reach of the state system.

In order to access resources and opportunities in highly informalized and uncertain urban environments, urban residents resort to provisional forms of collaboration with the state. In such urban environments, the state and organised groups of residents exercise urban governance through mutual recognition of each other but are not bound by strict commonly agreed set of rules. State rules and policies are highly fragmented and not amenable to coordination by the state. This results in the state functioning as both a formal and informal entity and player in urban development. Thus, literature that ignores the informal functioning of the African state is insufficient to capture the complexity of governance and the role of the state in the development of global South cities today. This is so because such a narrow and traditional view of the state runs the danger of rendering invisible, and yet important relations and processes of governance occurring outside of formal institutions of government, and consequently, glossing over highly complex patterns of urban politics which are present and deep in Kampala and other cities of the South. The state functions in two modes, in formal systems governed by state policies and legal provisions and the in the fluid and unwritten informal systems which are governed by cultures of clientelism for varied reasons. The state in the global South is involved in complex webs of relations with society, involving both formal and informal systems, with both arms having very important and influential roles in the development and management of cities. Extensive urban informalisation seems to indicate existence of major constraints on the capacity of the state system to deliver municipal services and to design and implement coherent policy for settlement intervention. This scenario equally signals a civil society too weak to compel the state to effectively function.

Proposition 2

Planning as a governance tool, like any other statutory instrument in African cities and elsewhere in the global South, is subject to abuse by the state and can be used to advance narrow and discriminatory agendas. Thus, progressive planning has a better possibility of success if decision-making processes take place outside of the 'legal normal' of public participation.

Planning in Kampala and elsewhere in the global South is traditionally fuelled by a liberal and moral agenda to alleviate material deficiencies through the promulgation of various policies

that are purposefully crafted to ‘fix’ the multitude of urban challenges. From the colonial period to the current period, the state in Uganda and Kampala in particular, has purported to serve ‘the public interest’, or public morality, through planners’ obligations to ‘the public’, as well as residents’ obligations to each other (Winkler, 2011). This justification was used to implement a racially discriminating urban development process in Kampala during the colonial period. The post-colonial government of 1962 inherited a town planning system that was socially and racially discriminatory. The findings indicate that planning in Kampala has transformed from being a tool for racial discrimination to being a governance tool for social and economic discrimination. The state has over the years used planning as a tool for manipulative governance where socio-economically poor residents of informal settlements of Kampala are subjected to evictions, housing demolitions, and destruction of livelihood systems. Planning has been abused by the state for displacing and disempowering citizens who have lived in the many informal settlements of Kampala for ages.

The ‘democratic deficits’ of Kampala have been very visible in the planning field. The notion of ‘public interest’ has either been absent or abused in the planning institutions in Kampala. Uganda’s planning practices and standards reflect a blatant disregard for those pursuing livelihoods in the absence of housing and employment opportunities. In the end, the majority of the residents of Kampala are not really planned for by the authorities. Thus, to make progress in planning and achieve inclusive and sustainable settlements, civic movements have resorted to pushing the state to plan beyond the legal normal. The legal normal in planning in many cities of the South has often worked against the majority of the citizens. Thus, the ‘new normal’ in planning will have to accept the existence of and then challenge the long cherished manipulative planning system. Planning needs to go beyond the existing legal and policy frameworks to accommodate the legally invisible but practically visible and politically dominant urban populations of Southern cities.

Proposition 3

Civil society experiences contestations of power within and between groupings of the poor which have far reaching implications for city planning.

Given that the state has used planning to manipulate and discriminate against the majority of citizens in Kampala, as elsewhere in the global South, civil society and civic movements of the urban poor have assumed a prominent role in shaping urban development and service delivery

and attempting to promote an accountable and transparent state. Society as a collection of individuals and groupings of individuals has also assumed a bigger role in service delivery and urban management. Often times, civic movements and urban communities have resorted to implementing joint efforts to implement survival strategies and to push the state to operate beyond statutory limitations. The case presents evidence that civil groups represented group interests and acted to defend these interests. Civil groups also performed functions of gap-filling by delivering public services and addressing material needs for communities. As a major player in urban development and management, these non-state players exhibit various traits: collude with the state and act against the weaker societal groups; or exercise governmentalities from below and become exclusionary in their practices; or collaborate with the state to achieve inclusive urban planning and service delivery. The Federation was affected by abuse of savings, conflicts around management of savings, complaints about perceived lack of intra-Federation democracy and confusion that surrounded the dismissal of the Executive Director in 2013. This confirms the assertion that civil society in the South is rarely open and transparent. These intra-Federation challenges created in-built weaknesses which weakened the capacity of the movement to fully protect the interest of some elements of the community, hence evictions and insufficient funding by the state continue to derail the progress made by the partners.

Furthermore, the Federation and ACTogether acted as a site of governance and were able to regulate access to both public and Federation resources, and established rules of conduct through use of Federating tools and practices. These practices were being implemented in communities that are a collection of many other groups and interests, such as associations of property owners, local state agencies, groups of informal traders and others. These groups have interests and values to champion and protect. As such, space and society never occurred as a value-neutral container to be planned or engaged without caution. Community agency interests are many, resulting sometimes in conflicts over which the planner or the state does not necessarily have control. Thus, while a parallel analysis of the relations between state and society is important, it is essential to analyse the relations within and between civil groups that engage in the practice of governance and service delivery, as they collaborate or compete with each other for influence or access to the state. As such, the issue of ‘community engagement,’ is not a mundane homage to ‘participation and collaboration.’ The Kampala case shows that planning processes and the spaces within which they occur are informed by a multitude of community interests, conflicts, contradictions and exclusion. Divides and divisions within and between communities and the NGO were usually based on social class, asset ownership,

popular groupings and political membership. Thus, urbanists need to possess and sharpen skills to listen, initiate, and direct community debate and manage mild but ever present conflict on the planning field.

Proposition 4

Urban life is a contested process and practice, and sensitivity by planners to conflicting rationalities between communities and the ambitions of the state (often in collusion with private capital) is an important precondition to understanding why certain forms of planning and development can or cannot work.

The Kampala case shows that urban life is dynamic and contested and that development issues are subjected to differing values and perspectives. The case shows that the urban poor living under conditions of poverty and deprivation usually have fundamentally different world views from state planners and the private sector. There is nothing really peaceful about urban life in the global South. The differing rationalities that affected the housing and market upgrade in Nakawa bring to the fore the arguments that various elements of the state and society view and interpret planning and community interventions fundamentally differently. The rationalities shaping the views of the urban poor differ from those shaping service providers and development regulators. In addition, the rationalities of communities do not connote a uniform set of community arguments seeking to improve the living conditions of slums. Various community groups exist and these groups view the world and act differently. In the Kampala case, special societal groups such as women wield significant influence that shapes state-society relations, and when harnessed, the groups can push planning practice beyond the normal boundaries to address the concerns of the most vulnerable in society. Similarly, the state does not embody one set of rationalities. The findings indicate that the multi-layered state in Kampala is shaped by contradictory policies and rationalities. The encounter of multiple and conflicting community rationalities with those of the state is rarely peaceful and can lead to stalemates in decision-making on planning and development action.

Planning needs to engage with conflicting rationalities that shape both community and state operations. Paying attention to conflicting rationalities as presented by various elements of society and state allows planning to engage with the nuances that shape planning interventions and outcomes. Planning that engages with the conflicting rationalities at the interface of state-society relations is more likely to lead to inclusive development. It also questions theoretical

concepts that urbanites and professionals rely on and engage with when intervening in urban communities.

Co-production processes in Kampala attempted to engage with the various rationalities and this was made possible by exercising reflexivity (Lang et al, 2012) in knowledge generation about life in informal settlements of Kampala. Reflexivity entailed an attitude of attending systematically to the context of knowledge construction, especially by enumerators, at every step of enumeration processes. The enumeration process involved both community residents and state officials, thereby creating sensibilities in both state and society about the real challenges that affect Kampala. The conceptualization of the challenges and opportunities for intervention by the Partnership was a joint process between communities and the state. This allowed communities to have knowledge and an understanding of the challenges that affect the state's capabilities to deliver on its mandate. Similarly, the state had to relax some of its rules after gaining an understanding of conditions affecting the living environment of the urban poor. Thus, this study shows that enumerations and exchange visits increased knowledge transfer between policy officials and communities. The resultant effect was modifications on both community practice and policy parameters to allow for community-based interventions.

Proposition 5

Habermas' communicative theory, which has strongly informed communicative and collaborative planning theories, cannot be generalised to all parts of the world, as state-society engagement in planning is shaped by contexts which are very different from those which influenced these existing planning theories.

The context of the urban global South is shaped by both the state and civil society. The findings establish that the state is conflicted and divided and can use planning to manipulate communities and residents. As detailed in chapters (5 and 6), the multiplicity of power sites and influences within the postcolonial state, which has largely been ignored in the Consensualist planning and decision-making theories of the 1980s' (Watson, 2016), is an important 'thread' that shapes all city planning processes and outcomes. On the other hand, civil society suffers from internal conflicts, divides, abuse and corruption. These characteristics of civil society and society weaken the capacity of civic movements to protect the interest of 'society.' Civil groups, just like the state, engage in activities of self-pursuit and loses credibility, opens itself up to criticism, and becomes a subject of attack by the state. As such, it is evident that both the state and civic movements need capacity building and monitoring.

This creates a dangerous vacuum where liberal democracy as envisaged in Northern democracies is absent, and Habermas' idea of 'better argument' to shape communicative action and collaboration fails to hold in Kampala as elsewhere in the South. Intra-state and intra-community relations, and the interface between state and society are usually sites for contestation and exclusion in the field of planning in the South. Neither the state nor society offer conditions which allow for deliberative discourse to shape planning and service delivery. This is driven by various factors, ranging from resource scarcity, incoherent and inappropriate state policies and continued cherishing of inherited and unreformed colonial planning practices under the guise of 'public order' and 'public interest.'

Given these planning conditions, actualisation of ideals as implied in the mainstream planning theories of consensus-seeking remain largely unattainable in Kampala and many other parts of the world. Community decision-making is shaped by the logics of survival. On the other hand, policy frameworks, state decision making systems and participation mechanism are not clear and are usually contradictory between the different agencies. The differing positions between KCCA and the Ministry on evictions in Kampala bring to life what intra-state confusions mean for planning in Kampala and many parts of the world. The Kampala case shows that intra-state collaboration is largely not there. Thus, expecting the state to create spaces for community participation and collaborations is assuming far too much in many global South contexts. Furthermore, the state is characterised by multiple conflicting and competing power rationalities and this makes it inefficient and dysfunctional and excludes effective dialogue able to shape planning and service delivery in Kampala as elsewhere. With these conditions, decisions are largely top-down and lack effective input by those purportedly 'planned for.' Therefore, the history of planning in Kampala and in other cities of the South can show little positive impact on the lives of those who live in these cities.

Proposition 6

Co-production is a different form of state-society engagement and can shift power towards communities in order to challenge the deficits in 'democratic practice' in planning, and improve living conditions for the urban poor.

Co-production is a new and different way of state-society engagement with characteristics of engaging with the complex state and society environments in Kampala and elsewhere. Co-production applies tools and practices that recognise divides and divisions in communities and the state. The tools such as savings, exchange visit and knowledge generations work to

empower community and build capabilities to engage the complex and unpredictable state system and urban environments. The case shows that all the co-production activities were intended to improve the capacity and capabilities of communities to defend and champion their interests and guard against the usually vicious state. The same tools have been used to turn the state around and make various elements of the state pro-poor. The MDFs, enumeration reports, and exchange visits silently shifted positions in the state systems to act outside the rigid rules and regulations, and became more accommodative to the people in informal settlements. These tools were used in a way that intended to protect the participation of women in all interventions, hence open and violent conflict is not part of the strategy to push the state to become more open, more engaging and pro-poor in the exercise of its tools of governance. This approach is informed by The Slum Dwellers International (SDI)'s stance against violent protests by communities³⁰.

Nihal Perera (2016) argues that subaltern classes are often unable to engage in open protest where state or corporation-produced space does not fit their needs. However, they shape urban space in more subtle and covert ways. This builds on the ideas of Asef Bayat (2010) who writes about the 'quiet encroachment of the ordinary'. The people use these tools to acquire the tactics of 'soft power' by learning and using the language of the state, building networks and 'bridges' between different but progressive state officials and providing 'meeting spaces' and opportunities for state officials to productively engage and work with residents of informal settlements to improve the living conditions of the urban poor in informal settlements. The tools silently challenge the old and entrenched planning and urban management of the state. Thus, the tools begin to shift both state and community positions on what needs to be done to improve the urban environments in cities of the South. All the communal water and sanitation facilities, the modes of managing and leveraging the savings, the design and location of infrastructure and the decision-making processes about informal settlements in Kampala, are now based on the recommendations and outcomes of the various co-production tools.

Proposition 7

Co-production involves the use of both collaboration and conflict to improve the living conditions of urban residents.

³⁰ <http://www.knowyourcity.tv/nooneleftbehind,05/01/2017>

The development aspirations and needs on one hand and the development process on the other does mean that the solution does not entirely lie in the state apparatus nor in the civic movements. The SDI is of the firm view that the answer lies in mutual collaboration between mobilised community groups and the state. However, the Federation and ACTogether, in Kampala understand that the state can often turn to its old manipulative ways of engaging with communities, and so they are vigilant and closely watch the actions of the state. Thus, co-production is shaped by dynamic community initiatives and actions which are basically shaped by the will and tactics to both collaborate and to resist. The major objective of co-production is positive intervention which secures the gains for residents. Given uncertain urban environments, communities are empowered to use a range of strategies to achieve the gains. When the state is seen to be in support of communities, the community is mobilised to collaborate during both activity planning and implementation. This involves community endorsements and moral support, material contributions through savings, community-based labour, project management, and supply of local but useful equipment such as wheelbarrows. These collaborative acts cover the whole chain of community interventions (from planning and design to on-going management of projects). On the other hand, communities use various tools, including written complaints, boycotts and verbal shouts to resist manipulative and disempowering state policies and actions. The Kampala case is ripe with both instances of collaboration and conflict, which kept the partners in check and on target. Thus, planning and urban management in Kampala is being transformed from being a top-down and undemocratic activity to a collaborative, contested and conflicted process.

Proposition 8

The scale and ambition in co-production can lead to major city-wide infrastructural improvements if the state is both responsive and has the will to inclusively govern.

It is clear that co-production has been happening in Kampala for over ten years now. While the engagements and relations have achieved remarkable progress, many urban challenges remain. Furthermore, it is clear that co-production processes and systems have not managed to shift the deep-rooted postcolonial planning systems in Kampala. Postcolonial planning systems remain as stubborn realities. The conditions for participation have been created, but true success of the process will be seen when various strategies of participation involving collaboration and conflict can transform the major parts of the city (all informal areas) into well serviced and better managed areas integrated into the wider city systems. The process should not be managed

in a way that seems to create fertile grounds for exercising ‘politics of patience’ where the urban poor live under perpetual hope for better housing and improved services. The mobilised and strong voice from below should compel the state to act and deliver on its responsibilities, policies and tasks. The urban challenge is big and cities in these regions are growing rapidly and interventions need to match this growth challenge. The idea of planning and settlement intervention at scale is an important one but it needs proper insertion in the partnership agreement so that all development activities going into the communities are based on the joint objectives of the Partnership. This means both NGO and the Federation need to broaden and increase the ambition level of community investments through further innovative funding mechanisms. For example, the Partnership should have taken advantage of KCCA, a well-funded state agency with strong political support, to sustainably deliver more services to the residents of the City. However, power dynamics and ‘complexities’ do exist in many cities (Lindell, 2008:1881). It would be quite challenging for SDI and communities to take on the entire municipal government system and big city-wide stakeholders such as organised businesses.

Thus, a broadened initiative could have involved making the state fund nearly all the upgrade activities proposed by the communities and ACTogether. The initiatives of community procurement, as discussed in chapter 5, is an important one that could transform the way interventions have been designed and implemented in the cities of the South. The communities and the Federation need to get a well-funded mandate and should be accountable to both state and the larger urban community. The continued locking of resources in the state means that the idea of community empowerment remains largely underfunded and this reduces the delivery capability of the co-production framework as an interventive planning and urban management framework. For this funding mechanism transition to happen, it means the state must be willing to be transformative and truly responsive to the urban challenges. This could, equally, mean major transformations in international urban development financing with international development institutions and donors placing a premium on the role of organised groups in development planning and management. There is a need to shift the power lever by increasing community philanthropy in international development financing. The need to connect people, ideas and resources to improve lives in the global South cities is overwhelming. So far, the experimentation of this initiative in the TSUPU and USMID projects in Kampala seemed to bare very impressive fruits for both the state and urban residents.

7.3 Conclusion

This chapter has provided answers to both the sub-research questions and the main research question. The chapter presents the theoretical arguments of the findings. The central theoretical argument in this thesis is that traditional planning practice in Kampala has achieved little for the citizens of the City. This has left the planning system open to abuse by manipulative successive city and national governments which have used planning to further and protect the interests of few segments of society at the expense of the majority. The thesis argues that co-production in Kampala has allowed both the state and residents to face the urban development challenges in a more open, dynamic and transparent manner. The key entry point for the partners has been through the idea of transforming minds and practices through knowledge generation and alternative ways of learning the city and critiquing older state sanctioned concepts and standards. New knowledge about Kampala and about statutory planning and service delivery provisions has led to a process of soft encroachment on the practices of the state and a subsequent shift of both state and community practices. Co-production is about managing power at the interface between communities and the state, with power shifting towards communities. This shift has led to material gains for communities. The thesis argues that power and conflict are ubiquitous elements that both produce and are a product of the interface between state and society. Progress in planning will be a product of effective engagement at the interface. In the following chapter, the researcher provides a conclusion to summarise all the major arguments in this study.

CHAPTER 8

CONCLUSIONS

8.1 Introduction

This chapter provides the final reflections on the research process and findings. The chapter first presents the aim of the study and the research activities. Secondly, the chapter reflects back on the findings and highlights theoretical insights. The third section identifies future research aspects.

8.2 The objectives of the study and the research activities

The concept of co-production in planning is new. Although many city governments are increasingly working with civic movements to deliver services in informal settlements and in some cities are being encouraged to adopt the practice of co-production by global NGOs, the concept of co-production in planning needs conceptual and theoretical advancement. This research aimed at generating theoretical propositions that could help to inform the concept of co-production as a form of state-society engagement in city planning. The aim of the study was based on the overarching research question on how co-production engagements in the City of Kampala provided empirical support for an enhanced theoretical framework in planning which contributes to ideas of state-society engagement in the cities of the global South. This study needed to fulfil a number of objectives by collecting primary data and information on various aspects. Firstly, the study sought to understand co-production engagements and activities in Kampala by conducting an in-depth analysis of the nature of state-society relations and co-production outcomes in Kampala. The second study objective sought to examine state responses to community-led upgrade initiatives in the Kampala communities, showing particularly how the state cannot be considered as a homogenous entity and is subject to its own fractures and contradictions. Thirdly, the study analysed community and NGO strategies and tactics aimed at improving community living conditions in informal settlements in Kampala. This part of the analysis also showed how the concept of community is not homogenous and is subject to divisions and conflicts. The fourth objective was about understanding how the exercise of power by state, community and the NGO shaped the outcome of co-production engagements in Kampala. This objective was meant to ensure a nuanced analysis of power as an element that is ever present in all players in the co-production engagements, and to counter an assumption underlying a number of current mainstream planning theories that power can be ignored or wished away. The following were the structuring research sub-questions:

- i. How have communities and the NGO called ACTogether engaged the state in Kampala on the issue of informal settlement recognition and service provision?
- ii. Have elements or groupings of communities engaged the state in different ways?
- iii. How has the state in Kampala (national and local) responded to initiatives from communities and ACTogether to engage in service provision?
- iv. Have different elements or departments in the state responded in different ways?
- v. How have power relations structured the relationships between communities, NGOs and the state in the process of engagement?

To answer the overall and sub-research questions, I used the case study method. The study was designed as an explanatory and interpretative inquiry. It focused on the structure and agency of co-production and inquired as to the 'why' and 'how' of players shaping co-production in Kampala. Kampala was considered a 'unique' case as it is the place where a co-production process has progressed further towards implementation than in other cities on the African continent. The study considered Kampala as the overall case and then used three sub-cases as units of analysis. Each of the three sub-cases was chosen on the basis of its relevance to the objectives of the study. The Kampala Central division (Kisenyi area) sub-case was chosen because it provided focused information on the history of co-production in Kampala and also for information that related to Federation-NGO relations and conflicts. The Nakawa division (Mbuya and Kinawataka areas) sub-case was key to provide information and the data on nature of communities in Kampala. The Kawempe division (Bwaise area) sub-case was key for understanding governance dynamics during co-production. These three sub-cases constituted the Kampala co-production case study.

To obtain primary information, the researcher used three techniques. Firstly, he used semi-structured interviews to guide the primary data acquisition process. He conducted interviews with research participants from devolved community groups (Local level Federation groups). Secondly, he had interviews with NGO officials and relevant government agencies from national to local urban village level. Interviews were supplemented by observation and document analysis. Analysed documents included organisation and project reports, Federation and ACTogether programmes, agreements, state policies and programmes, and all these supplemented the data collection and analysis processes and procedures. Furthermore, to ensure internal and external validity, triangulation processes were implemented by cross-checking information from a wide range of research participants and use of various methods during data and information collection, as well as use of elaborate data analysis procedures.

This methodological approach allowed the researcher to construct the narratives that depict what actually happens during co-production in Kampala. The case has been presented as virtual reality.

However, this research was not without its limitations. During fieldwork, the researcher faced some challenges which included doing research in a politically charged and tense community atmosphere (interviews were done during election year) which made access to research participants in government and communities challenging. Securing some appointments for interviews was tricky, especially in instances where political rallies were planned to target communities. Given the role of politics in co-production in Kampala, it would have been a good addition to interview politicians at the level of Mayor and Ministers to obtain their insights. However, interview appointments with politicians failed because their diaries were fully booked with campaign activities. The other major limitation of the study is its scope. The study did not sufficiently uncover the complexities of the national policies and laws on land, economy and environmental management. The second but related limitation involved limited inquiry on the extent to which co-production unsettles colonial planning ideas and practices in both short and long term. The study did not engage adequately with the impact of co-production on institutional and governance transformations. Finally, it was difficult and time consuming to track the minute and subtle ways in which power manifests itself in every-day responses by both state and community during co-production. However, these limitations did not compromise the essential aim of the study.

8.3 Reflections on research findings

Findings indicate that the Kampala case provided a study context where colonial rule was followed by political independence with decentralisation and recentralisation as key phases in the postcolonial governance and development of Kampala. The key findings are that enumerations, savings and exchange visits built the capacity of the community residents as individuals and as groups. The strategies were useful for building community initiatives for settlement upgrading. The strategies were essential in building both individual and collective capabilities to engage with the state to challenge the conventional ways of doing planning and state-society engagements. Furthermore, while divides and divisions were a permanent mark of communities, the communities used their new capabilities to devise various tactics and 'movements' to engage with the state and to resist state manipulations. Community residents and groups aimed at protecting their survival assets and systems. The study equally established that the state is divided and multi-layered, and its various agencies can align if and when

community interventions respond to common needs and objectives. The research discovered that intra-state alignment is rare and the state in Kampala did not act in unison and often held different positions on various development and planning issues during co-production. The governance sites are multiple and did not always act in unison. The study discovered undocumented aspects of both state and community tactics and strategies to get their way. The researcher noted that co-production is both about conflict and collaboration. Where both state and community had a common interest, collaboration was used. On the other hand, overt conflict was initiated by community groups whenever their interests were threatened. The state involved both disruptive and overt conflicts when certain of their urban management regulations were not followed by the Federation. State-initiated visible and disruptive conflicts involved cases of demolitions and evictions among others. Overt state conflicts involved withholding recognition of certain of the Federation activities such as refusal to officially recognise the enumeration reports. Thus, it was evident that during co-production in Kampala, a clash of rationalities between the state and communities was ubiquitous in all co-production engagements.

Following Flyvbjerg (1998:225-236), the findings have been related to the theoretical debates and policy context to answer the research questions and to generate theoretical propositions. In so doing, the researcher believes the research managed to 'deepen the theoretical pot' in planning and attempted to contribute to international planning theory development. The case advanced theoretical ideas on the limitations of mainstream planning theories to guide planning in those parts of the world where the state and society are affected by poverty, inequality, institutional weakness, and conflict. He argues that planning in these contexts should not assume that the state is willing and has capacity to implement its presumptive mandate of formulating coherent laws and policies to deliver infrastructural services and protect human rights. The state is much more bent on using planning as a tool of forceful urban control and citizen manipulation to protect narrow interests. Secondly, my propositions about society postulate that civil society in the South is characterised by divisions and divides which weaken its capability to assert and protect 'public' 'community' interest. With competing interests within the state and within society, the interface between state and society is conflicted and contested. The researcher further asserts that to assume in planning that both the state and communities in the global South are naturally willing to participate in community development processes for the good of communities is erroneous and misleading. However, he discovered that the use of co-production strategies has the capacity to mobilise, align and consolidate

‘community’ action to engage with the state and begin to shift state-society interface power dynamics towards the ‘community’, thereby, making the state more responsive to the needs of urban poor communities in the South. The process of co-production recognises the presence and importance of both collaborative acts and conflicts in planning and service delivery. Nevertheless, the limitations of co-production to deliver change in communities are influenced by the macro-policy contexts of national governments, globalisation and the colonial context of many cities in the South. The research noted that co-production was practiced in parallel to the formal and colonially-inspired planning legislation and planning views of what a ‘good city’ might constitute. While co-production benefitted those groups involved in the process, it was unable to shift the wider and well-entrenched system of planning. Planning theory needs to engage more with these contextual realities as they increase urban complexities in the South.

8.4 Study limitations and future research directions

This research has presented rich narratives about the state, society and the interactions between the two during service delivery and planning. I have argued that there is need for more support and funding from the state to implement community-led development initiatives. There is a need to build capacities at the local urban scale so that the destiny of communities is determined by and large by the affected groups. This research shows that if communities are well supported financially and in terms of policy, popular and broad-based development is possible. Findings show that if capacity is built at the local level, then community groups can challenge manipulative state in the global South and this can make the development process can be inclusive and sustainable. Future research needs to determine how co-production can transform ‘voices’ from below to ‘services from below.’ The research needs to uncover how co-production could be a transformative concept. Does the concept of co-production have the potential to be sufficiently transformative to be considered as liberating for the urban residents of the cities of the South?

Another future research area should involve inquiries about scaled up community initiatives to the city-wide level. Thus, this researcher suggests that research needs to document how large scale community-led interventions challenge democratic deficits in planning and reposition the state into a more responsive urban development actor. The current national and global development order focuses on financing state-led initiatives and not community-led development. Future research needs to assess mechanisms, processes and opportunities for institutional transformation and realignment to prioritise capacity issues that could be achieved by scaled up bottom-up urban development programmes. The role of the state in the South is

quite unclear and not fully focused on service delivery and development opportunities. Accordingly, a research question could be asked: how can scaled up community-led urban development approaches challenge the dominant urban development paradigms, and lead to transformations in the developmental state in the South?

Lastly, future research should be on the extent to which co-production can challenge entrenched colonially inspired planning systems. Current calls by scholars like Ananya Roy to decolonise planning knowledge could benefit from research on co-production in the context of the South. It would be a good addition to knowledge to discover how, while working in parallel, co-production and 'old planning systems' interact and challenge each other. Decolonising planning knowledge and practice need to engage with the interface created by 'old' (legal and policy) and 'new' (often beyond existing laws and policies) systems of planning. Co-production provides alternative new and progressive concepts, systems and interpretations of urban life, planning and urban management. These concepts and ideas could offer a starting point for new research to build appropriate and alternative body of knowledge that fills the voids in planning education and practice in many parts of the world.

8.5 Conclusion

This section has provided a reflective summary of the entire research process. The chapter has argued that the Kampala is a typical global South city. Thus, the city served as an appropriate research site for mining the data to address the research questions and theorise state-society relations and city planning in the global South. The chapter has argued that reality and validity in co-production engagements and relations can add to planning theory if investigated using the case method which seeks to produce narratives as virtual realities of the mess state-society relations in the South. In addition, the chapter has proposed future research to generate ideas, concepts and propositions that could use to respond to the calls for decolonising planning knowledge and practice.

9 References

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Appendices

Appendix 1 – Interview questions

Interview questions/guide

Section A

Personal data

1. Name (Optional).....
2. Gender.....
3. Name of organisation or Community/ or group.....
4. Position.....
5. Number of years/months in this position/community/group.....
6. Key responsibilities
.....
.....
.....
.....
.....
.....

Section B

Experiences on and with co-production engagements / planning in Kampala

1. How have communities and ACTogether engaged the state in Kampala on the issue of informal settlement recognition and service provision? (*All research participants*).
 - 1.1. What are the key projects where the state and ACTogether has been or is collaborating on?
 - 1.2. Who initiated current and previous projects and what are the sources of funds?
 - 1.3. What is the role of the state in slum upgrading in Kampala?
 - 1.4. What strategies have communities and ACTogether deployed to work with the state in a collaborative manner?
 - 1.5. What makes the state recognise and work with communities which are by law considered by some sections of society and the state as informal and to some extent as illegal?

- 1.6. What is the key organising logic / philosophy in the existing state-society relations on given upgrade projects?
- 1.7. Has the relationship produced tangible results or improvements in the lives of the people in informal settlements of Kampala? What are the examples?
2. Have elements or groupings of communities engaged the state in different ways? (*All research participants*).
 - 2.1. How different are the existing state-society relations co-produced?
 - 2.2. What is the organising principle in the community? How has community organisation evolved over time? What do ‘communities’ want to achieve during co-production?
 - 2.3. Do community groups use different tactics to engage with the state during co-production? Illustrations?
 - 2.4. How does the community ensure that they engage the state with a united agenda?
 - 2.5. What principles, values and compromises characterise the partnership between ACTogether and the state?
 - 2.6. What is the nature of the partnership, and how are differences and conflicts resolved?
 - 2.7. Who leads the partnership and how? Examples?
 - 2.8. Are there special rules and pre-agreed conditions in the partnership? How do these affect community initiatives and responses from the state in slum upgrading?
 - 2.9. How do different community segments respond to upgrade projects that are initiated by the state?
 - 2.10. What role does the community play in carrying out the upgrade projects? How does this shape the implementation, outcomes and management of infrastructural projects?
 - 2.11. To what extent does each of the partners influence upgrade programmes?
 - 2.12. How do community politics and local leadership shape state-society relations on selected projects?
 - 2.13. What are the views of the community regarding what a better City is?
3. How has the state in Kampala (national and local) responded to initiatives from communities and ACTogether to engage in service provision? (*All research participant*).
 - 3.1. Who initiates upgrade projects and who defines the terms of reference?

- 3.2. How receptive are different state-linked governance structures to community-initiated upgrade projects?
 - 3.3. Are there particular state-linked institutions and systems that are crucial to facilitate or hinder co-production engagements in Kampala? Give examples.
 - 3.4. What is the motivation of the state to respond to community-led upgrade initiatives?
 - 3.5. What is the state's view of a better City? How does this deviate from or align with community's desires?
 - 3.6. How does the state conduct itself in the implementation of upgrade projects?
 - 3.7. Are there any contradictions between existing laws and guidelines and co-production principles and approaches? How and illustrate.
 - 3.8. What challenges affect the state's programmes and activities in achieving inclusive communities in Kampala?
 - 3.9. Is there a structured response by the state to community-led initiatives in slum upgrading in the City? Give examples.
 - 3.10. Are there different and specially tailored engagement mechanisms for addressing development issues in formal and informal communities in Kampala?
 - 3.11. What are the key methodological and policy successes of the partnership? Give examples of partnership-linked transformations within the state.
 - 3.12. How do the February 18th 2016 general elections shape the way the state engages with different segments of society?
4. Have different elements or departments in the state responded in different ways? (*All research participants*).
 - 4.1. How has the state gotten impacted by community-led initiatives to provide infrastructural services and products?
 - 4.2. Is there a joint programme by the state to respond to community-led urban upgrade initiatives?
 - 4.3. How have different state departments, agencies and state individuals participated in the upgrade projects? Are there elements of government institutional fragmentation or alignment in response to community-led settlement upgrades in Kampala?
 - 4.4. What are the expectations of the state and have these been met by existing and previous collaborative projects?
 - 4.5. How do power, state and national/community politics influence the state's engagement with the urban informal communities?

- 4.6. To what extent is the state's response and institutional transformation regarding service provision in informal settlements of Kampala an institutionalised process in Kampala?
- 4.7. What are the institutional and legal limitations in up scaling community-led initiatives in dealing with development challenge/harnessing development opportunities in Kampala?
- 4.8. What are the milestones for the partnership in the urban transformation of Kampala?
5. How have power relations structured the relationships between communities, NGOs and the state in the process of engagement? (*All research participants*).
 - 5.1. To what extent are upgrade projects and programmes crafted within a shared understanding of process and outcome?
 - 5.2. What are the key conflict inducing issues in the collaborative programmes and projects?
 - 5.3. Are there incidences when inter-institutional conflicts in the partnership have slowed partnership activities?
 - 5.4. How do community and inter-institutional misunderstandings affect in the design and implementation of the upgrade programmes and projects? Give specific examples.
 - 5.5. Are there cases where conflicts/misunderstandings have resulted in improved relations and better upgrade processes and outcomes?
 - 5.6. How are conflicts managed to reduce tension and ensure progress in upgrade activities?
 - 5.7. Are there any success factors that shape the Kampala partnership? How is power managed and channelled towards productive ends in communities?
 - 5.8. Who and where are key power leavers that determine the sustainability of upgrade projects and partnership programmes?

Thank you
Gilbert Siame

Appendix 2 – List of research participants

Interview number	Interviewee Name	Gender	Position	Language of interview	Organization	Date
1.	Hellen Nyamweru	Female	Documentation and Administration Officer	English	ACTogether Uganda	12/10/15
2.	Kiberu Hassan	Male	Chairman	English	NSDFU	15/02/2016
3.	Irene Namaganda	Female	Community support officer	English	ACTogether	15/02/2016
4.	Betty Mutabazi	Female	Projects	English	NSDFU	14/02/2016
5.	Stephen Bogere	Male	Senior Sociologist	English	MLHUD	08/10/2015
6.	Stephen Byangaba	Male	Chairman	English	L.C. 1- Mbuya area	12/02/2016
7.	Angella Nakijjoba	Female	Chairperson	English	NSDFU	12/02/2016
8.	Nalubulwa Sumaiya	Female	Officer in Charge of profiling and youth representative	English	NSDFU- Nakawa	12/02/2016
9.	Stephen Byangaba	Male	Publicity Sectary	English	NSDFU- Nakawa	10/02/16
10.	Nakitende Teopista	Female	Caretaker	Luganda	NSDFU	12/02/2016
11.	Silver Michael Owere	Male	Water and Sanitation Officer	English	ACTogether	15/10/15
12.	Silver Michael Owere	Male	Water and Sanitation Officer	English	ACTogether	13/10/2015
13.	Charles Okuni	Male	MDF President	English	NSDFU- Nakawa	15/10/15
14.	Yusuf Semambo	Male	MDF President	English	NSDFU Kampala Central	11/10/2015
15.	Emmanuel Ninyozima	Male				5/02/2015
16.	Walter Joseph Pade	Male	Commissioner for Urban Development	English	MLHUD	15/10/2015
17.	Edith Samin	Female	Monitoring and Evaluation	English	NSDFU	19/10/2015
18.	Sarah Nandudu	Female	Vice Chairperson	English	NSDFU	19/10/2015 ; 6/02/2016

19.	Hassan Kiberu	Male	Chairman	English	NSDFU	20/10/2015
20.	Joyce Namgobi	Female	Director	English	Slum Women Initiative for development (SWID)	19/10/2015
21.	Umar Mudamba	Male	MDF President	English	NSDFU	11/10/2015
22.	Joseph Sserunjolli	Male	Community leader	English	Jinja Region NSDFU	19/10/2015
23.	Lutwama Muhammed	Male	Executive Director	English	ACTogether	23/10/2015
24.	Edris Lubega	Male	National data coordinator	English	NSDFU	13/10/2016
25.	Waiswa Kakaire	Male	Project Engineer	English	ACTogether	27/04/2016
26.	Twaha Kabugo	Female	Treasure	English	NSDFU-Kawempe	03/02/16
27.	Sofia Makijjoba	Female	Saver	Luganda	NSDFU-Kawempe	03/02/16
28.	Masame Falahia	Female	Saver	English	NSDFU-Kawempe	03/02/16
29.	Zamu Byakika	Male	Secretary	English	NSDFU-Kawempe	03/02/16
30.	Mariam Bagala	Female	Chairperson	English	NSDFU-Kawempe	03/02/16
31.	Joelia Namazi	Female	Saver	English	NSDFU-Kawempe	03/02/16
32.	Musiya Makato	Female	Chairperson	English	NSDFU-Kawempe	03/02/16
33.	Kyombe Mayanja	female	Negotiator	English	NSDFU-Kawempe	03/02/16
34.	Manono Aisha	Female	Profiling and Numbering	English	NSDFU-Kawempe	03/02/16
35.	Ibra Kasule	Male	Chairman	English	NSDFU-Kawempe	03/02/16
36.	Victo Nakanja	Male	Savings collector	English	NSDFU-Kawempe	03/02/16
37.	Geofrey Hirya	Male	Auditor	English	NSDFU-Kawempe	03/02/16
38.	Ronald Kasalu	Male	Region Chairperson	English	NSDFU-Kawempe	03/02/16
39.	Jamada Kasumba	Male	Member	English	NSDFU-Kawempe	03/02/16
40.	Slivia Namuddu	Female	Chairperson	English	NSDFU-Kawempe	03/02/16
41.	Isaac Ssonko	Male	Documentation officer	English	ACTogether	12/10/15

42.	Sarah Nambozo	Female	National Mobilizer	English	NSDFU	8/02/2016
43.	Gorreti Katana	Female	Treasurer	English	NSDFU	08/02/2016
44.	Aminsa Kyaye	Male	Saver	English	NSDFU-Kampala Central	18/10/2015
45.	Hassan Kuluthum	Male	Saver	English	NSDFU-Kampala Central	20/10/2015
46.	Habiba Wasma	Male	Saver	English	NSDFU-Kampala Central	20/10/2015
47.	Ssempija Muhamad	Male	Saver	English	NSDFU-Kampala Central	20/10/2015
48.	Hamida Naluggwa	Male	Saver	Luganda	NSDFU-Kampala Central	19/10/2015
49.	Christopher Busingye	Male	Saver	English	NSDFU-Kampala Central	15/02/2016
50.	Abbas Kiyingi	Male	Saver	English	NSDFU-Kampala Central	15/02/2015
51.	Rose Mugiso	Male	Saver	Luganda	NSDFU-Kampala Central	10/02/2016
52.	Peace Tumulamye	Male	Saver	Luganda	NSDFU-Kampala Central	09/02/2016
53.	Jane Niakito	Female	Saver	English	NSDFU-Kampala Central	09/02/2016
54.	Edward Balunde	Male	Regional Chairperson	English	NSDFU-Kampala Central	8/02/2016
55.	Brendah Layiga	Female	Saver	English	NSDFU-Kampala Central	8/02/2016
56.	Denis Kidega	Male	Urban Officer	English	MLHUD	08/10/2015
57.	Jane Niakito	Female	Saver	Luganda	NSDFU-Kampala	
58.	Stephen M Bogere	Female	Senior Sociologist	English	MLHUD	15/02/2016
59.	Mark Bwambale	Male	Acting Deputy Director- Directorate of Physical Planning	English	KCCA	13/10/15

60.	Esau Gaukande	Male	Deputy director	English	KCCA	13/10/15
61.	Hajjat Hassan Senjala	Male	National Savings Coordinator	English	NSDFU	12/02/16
62.	Sumayiya Nalubulwa	Male	Profiling and MAPPING officer	English	NSDFU	12/02/16
63.	Catherine Nimusiima	Female	Program Officer	English	UPF	9/02/2016
64.	Agella Nakijjoba	Female	Chairperson	English	NSDFU	04/02/2016
65.	Suzan Makayiza	Female	Loaning Officer	English	NSDFU-Kawempe	03/02/2016
66.	Vincent Mutakowa	Male	Treasurer	English	Youth Action for Development	05/02/2016
67.	Loreene Kaweesi	Female	Saver	English	Youth Action for Development- Kalerwe	05/02/2016
68.	Prossy Kizza	Female	Chairperson	English	Youth Action for Development	05/02/2016
69.	Hanifah Katwesige	Male	Saver	English	NSDFU-Kampala Central	5/02/2016
70.	Sharifah Kisuule	Female	Saver	Luganda	Youth Action for Development- Kalerwe	5/02/2016
71.	Agness Nambi	Female	Vice Chairperson	English	Youth Action for Development- Kalerwe	5/02/2016
72.	Daisy Nakato	Female	Collector	Luganda	Youth Action for Development- Kalerwe	5/02/2016
73.		Male	Program Officer	English	MLHUD	08/10/2015
74.	Samuel Mapala		Country Team Leader- Cities Alliance	English	FCA	14/10/2015
75.	Faridah Namukasa	Female	Urban development officer	English	MLHUD	19/10/2015
76.	Rabbecca Nakasujja	Female	Saver	English	Banda Workers Savers	11/02/2016

77.	Rabecca	Female	Saver	English	Banda Workers Savers	11/02/2016
78.	Christopher , R.Kaweess	Male	Saver	English	Banda Workers Savers	11/02/2016
79.	Thomas Nakebba	Male	Chairperson	English	Banda Workers Savers	11/02/2016
80.	Irene Namukasa	Female	Library Manager	English	Banda Workers Savers	11/02/2016
81.	Dave Kayangaya nga	Male	Principle ,Housing Officer	English	MLHUD	20/10/15
82.	Robert Nyombi	Male	Assistant Commissioner, Land Registration	English	MLHUD	16/02/16
83.	Sharon Mudondo	Female	Saver	English	NSDFU-Nakawa	13/10/2015
84.	Semanda Twalia Bin Musa	Male	Secretary General	English	NSDFU	8/02/2016
85.	Jhonahan Diendegeya	Male	Documentation officer	English	YAD, Kawempe	04/02/2016
86.	Skye Dobson	Female	Former Executive Director	English	ACTogether , But now at SDI	05/12/2015
87.	Skye Dobson	Female	Former, Executive Director	English	ACTogether , But now at SDI	15/05/2016
88.	Muhammed Lutwama	Male	Executive Director	English	ACTogether	7/02/ 2016
89.	Waiswa Kakaile	Male	Project Engineer	English	ACTogether	08/02/2016
90.	Secretary	Male	Federation Secretary	English	Kisenyi Network (NSDFU)	20/10/15)
91.	Kiberu Hassan	Male	Chairman	English	NSDFU	12/02/2016
92.	Kiberu Hassan	Male	Chairman	English	NSDFU	13/02/2016
93.	Kiberu Hassan	Male	Chairman	English	NSDFU	13/10/2015
94.	Karamagisa Stephen	Male	Publicity Secretary	English	NSDFU-Nakawa	12/02/2016
95.	Enumeration Officer	Female	Profiling, Enumeration and Mapping Officer	English	ACTogether	11/10/2015
96.	LC One Chair	Male	Community Leader	English	Kisenyi 1	4/2/2016

97.	Jerald Habwe	Male	Official	English	MLHUD	17/10/15
98.	Town Clerk	Male	Town Clerk	English	MLHUD	15/10/2015
99.	Town Clerk	Male	Town Clerk	English	MLHUD	09/10/2015
100.	Madam Harriet	Female	Director- Gender, Production and Marketing	English	KCCA	10/02/2016
101.	Communications Officer	Female	Communications Officer	English	SSA	16/10/2015
102.	Chair, Kampala Central NSDFU	Male	Chairman	English	NSDFU	4/02/2016
103.	Saver- NSDFU Kampala Central	Male	Saver	English	NSDFU	04/02/2016
104.	Saver- NSDFU Kampala Central	Male	Saver	English	NSDFU- Nakawa	04/02/2016
105.	Saver	Male	Saver	English	NSDFU- Nakawa	4/02/2016.
106.	Saver	Female	Saver	English	Representative from Mbuya Federation Network,	17/10/2015
107.	Saver	Male	Saver	English	Kawempe division	15/10/2015
108.	Saver	Male	Saver	English	Nakawa	04/02/2016
109.	Mr Denis Obote	Male	Information Technologist MLHUD	English	MLHUD	16/02/2016
110.	Mutabazi Betty	Female	NSDFU- Projects	English	NSDFU	22/10/2015
111.	Councillor Candidate	Male	2016 February Election candidate	English	NRM- Kawempe (Kalimali area)	13/02/2016

Appendix 3–Ethics form

EBE Faculty: Assessment of Ethics in Research Projects (Rev2)

Any person planning to undertake research in the Faculty of Engineering and the Built Environment at the University of Cape Town is required to complete this form before collecting or analysing data. When completed it should be submitted to the supervisor (where applicable) and from there to the Head of Department. If any of the questions below have been answered YES, and the applicant is NOT a fourth year student, the Head should forward this form for approval by the Faculty EIR committee: submit to Ms Zulpha Geyer (Zulpha.Geyer@uct.ac.za; Chem Eng Building, Ph 021 650 4791). **NB: A copy of this signed form must be included with the thesis/dissertation/report when it is submitted for examination**

This form must only be completed once the most recent revision EBE EIR Handbook has been read.

Name of Principal Researcher/Student: Gilbert Siame

Department: APG

Preferred email address of the applicant: siamegilbert@yahoo.co.uk

If a Student: Degree: -PhD: City and Regional Planning

Supervisor: Prof. Vanessa Watson

If a Research Contract indicate source of funding/sponsorship: N/A

Research Project Title: **Understanding conflicting rationalities in city planning: A case study of co-produced infrastructure in informal settlements of Kampala**

Overview of ethics issues in your research project:

Question 1: Is there a possibility that your research could cause harm to a third party (i.e. a person not involved in your project)?		NO
Question 2: Is your research making use of human subjects as sources of data? If your answer is YES, please complete Addendum 2.	YES	
Question 3: Does your research involve the participation of or provision of services to communities? If your answer is YES, please complete Addendum 3.		NO
Question 4: If your research is sponsored, is there any potential for conflicts of interest? If your answer is YES, please complete Addendum 4.		NO

If you have answered YES to any of the above questions, please append a copy of your research proposal, as well as any interview schedules or questionnaires (Addendum 1) and please complete further addenda as appropriate. Ensure that you refer to the EIR Handbook to assist you in completing the documentation requirements for this form.

I hereby undertake to carry out my research in such a way that

- there is no apparent legal objection to the nature or the method of research; and
- the research will not compromise staff or students or the other responsibilities of the University;
- the stated objective will be achieved, and the findings will have a high degree of validity;
- limitations and alternative interpretations will be considered;
- the findings could be subject to peer review and publicly available; and
- I will comply with the conventions of copyright and avoid any practice that would constitute plagiarism.

Signed by:

	Full name and signature	Date
Principal Researcher/Student:	Gilbert Siame	21/07/2014

This application is approved by:

Supervisor (if applicable):		23/7/2014
HOD (or delegated nominee): <i>Final authority for all assessments with NO to all questions and for all undergraduate research.</i>		
Chair : Faculty EIR Committee For applicants other than undergraduate students who have answered YES to any of the above questions.		9/12/2014

ADDENDUM 1:

Please append a copy of the research proposal here, as well as any interview schedules or questionnaires:

UNDERSTANDING CONFLICTING RATIONALITIES IN CITY PLANNING: A
CASE STUDY OF CO-PRODUCED INFRASTRUCTURE IN INFORMAL
SETTLEMENTS OF KAMPALA

Research focus

There is rising interest in the need to understand city planning using a different lens rather than universalising the traditional global North planning thought. The key argument is that challenges facing cities today cannot be tackled adequately by traditional planning and that co-production may be a useful frame for developing a more radical approach to city planning. Central questions in this PhD project include: Inter alia, what theoretical concepts facilitate an improved framework for co-production interventions in city development?

Gilbert Siame



SCHOOL OF ARCHITECTURE, PLANNING AND GEOMATICS

University of Cape Town
Private Bag x3, Rondebosch 7701
Centlivres Building
Email: Janine.Meyer@uct.ac.za Tel: 27 21 6502359

UNIVERSITY OF CAPE TOWN

June 2014

STATEMENT TO BE READ OUT TO AN INTERVIEWEE BY A STUDENT ABOUT TO UNDERTAKE AN INTERVIEW FOR THE PURPOSES OF A MASTERS DISSERTATION

A copy of the form can be given to the respondent if they request it, so keep copies with you.

MY NAME IS *GILBERT SIAME* AND I AM STUDYING CITY AND REGIONAL PLANNING AT THE UNIVERSITY OF CAPE TOWN.

I AM DOING RESEARCH ON *CONFLICTING RATIONALITIES IN CITY PLANNING* AS PART OF MY PHD THESIS AND I WOULD LIKE TO ASK YOU SOME QUESTIONS TO HELP ME WITH MY RESEARCH.

I CAN PROMISE THAT I WILL NOT RECORD YOUR NAME OR ADDRESS, AND YOUR PERSONAL DETAILS WILL NOT IN ANY WAY BE REVEALED IN MY DISSERTATION OR ANY PUBLICATION I PRODUCE.

THE QUESTIONS I ASK ARE ONLY FOR RESEARCH AND THEY CANNOT DIRECTLY BENEFIT YOU OR YOUR COMMUNITY.

IF YOU WANT TO END THE INTERVIEW AT ANY POINT YOU ARE FREE TO DO SO.

MY SUPERVISOR IS *PROF. VANESSA WATSON* AND HER CONTACT DETAILS ARE:

Signed by candidate

.....
Signed (student)

This form is to be completed with your details filled in, and submitted with your ethics form